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AN INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED OF THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS AS CONTRASTED WITH THEIR PEERS IN A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION. THE EFFECT OF THIS DISTINCTIVENESS ON THE PERSONAL NATURE OF TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS ASSOCIATED WITH JOB PERFORMANCE, CAREER GOALS, AND CAREER PATTERNS WAS ALSO STUDIED. ITS GENERAL OBJECTIVE WAS TO ADD TO BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION AND TO THE MEANINGS TEACHERS ASSIGN TO THEIR JOBS, THAT IS, TO FIND OUT WHAT DISTINGUISHES A PROFESSIONALLY ORIENTED TEACHER FROM HIS LESS-TECHNICAL, LESS-AUTONOMOUS COUNTERPART. THIS "PROFESSIONALISM" WAS EVALUATED THROUGH THE USE OF QUESTIONNAIRES AND PERSONAL INTERVIEWS, CORRELATING THE ATTITUDE WITH EARLY INDIVIDUAL SOCIALIZATION, PRESENT WORK CONTEXT, AND ORGANIZATIONAL PERFORMANCE. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE EFFECTS OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION UPON "PROFESSIONALISM" INVOLVED THE SEX ROLE, SOCIAL BACKGROUND, RELIGION, AND INTEGRATION SETTING. ON-THE-JOB EFFECTS INVOLVED ROLE DIFFERENTIATION (SUBJECT MATTER FIELD), WORKING CLIMATE OF THE SCHOOL, PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF "PROFESSIONALISM" ON THREE ASPECTS OF PERFORMANCE--JOB EFFECTIVENESS, PROCEDURALISM, AND OVERTIME--ARE SHOWN. (JH)

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John L. Colombotos

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SOURCES OF PROFESSIONALISM: A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

Cooperative Research Project No. 330

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Ann Arbor
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Recruiting, developing, and retaining competent teachers to staff the nation's schools has been a critical problem for more than a decade. The problem of the quality of our teachers and of our educational system was dramatized late in 1957 with Soviet Russia's announcement of Sputnik; the problem of quantity is becoming increasingly urgent with an expanding school population.

This twofold crisis in American education applies both to the elementary and the secondary levels, but it is especially serious at the secondary level. It is the high school which is blamed for our lagging behind Soviet Russia in science and technology and in general scholarship,[1] and it is at the high school level where teachers leave teaching for jobs in business and industry.[2]

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[1] Note that the critics of American education concentrate their fire on the high school. See, for example, the much-discussed series, "Crisis in Education," Life, XLIV (March 24, March 31, April 7, April 14, April 21, 1958), pp. 25-37, 93-101, 89-97, 117-125, 103-111. This is also reflected in the rejoinder by the National Education Association, "Ten Criticisms of Public Education," National Education Association Research Bulletin, IV (December, 1957), pp. 131-175.

[2] This does not deny the acuteness of the turnover problem at the elementary level, but the reasons for turnover at the two levels differ. At the elementary level, where 87 percent of the teachers are women, marriage and maternity are the dominant reasons for leaving. At the secondary level, where only 51 percent are women, marriage and maternity among women and alternative job opportunities among men provide a more fruitful setting for a study of professionalism.

This is a study of high school teachers in a metropolitan high school system. Its general objective is to add to our understanding of teachers by investigating the meanings they assign their jobs; specifically, to find out what distinguishes "professional" teachers from "nonprofessional" teachers. The term "professionalism" refers to a set of attitudes toward the work situation, as distinguished from its objective, structural characteristics.

The three specific objectives of the study are to investigate:

1. the effects of early socialization--sex role, social class background, religion, and integration setting[1]--on professionalism.
2. the effects of later socialization on the job--role differentiation (subject matter field), working climate of the school, professional training, participation in professional associations, and informal colleague relations--on professionalism.
3. the consequences of professionalism on three aspects of organizational performance--job effectiveness, proceduralism, and overtime.

The study is restricted to high school teachers (1) because of the central importance of secondary education discussed above, (2) because the issue of professionalism can be more fruitfully investigated in that subgroup which stands for professional leadership (it is generally recognized that high school teachers rather than elementary teachers fill this role), and (3) because of requirements of research design and practicality, indicated in Chapter II.

This chapter contains an analysis of the concept of professionalism, a review of the literature on the concept of role orientation and, finally, the specific hypotheses that spell out in detail the three major objectives of the study. Chapter II describes the setting in which the research was done, the field work, an index of professionalism, and the statistical methods used. The findings under the three major research objectives are analyzed in Chapters III, IV, and V. Chapter VI contains a summary of the findings and some speculationsabout the future of professionalism in teaching. At various points in the analysis the men teachers 25 to 39 years old in my sample are compared to staff experts in a business organization. These data are found in Appendix D.

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[1] As conceptualized by Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958).

A Definition of Professionalism

The growth of the professions in modern industrial society has been accompanied by an increasing interest in their study by sociologists and by other social scientists.[1] Although there is not complete consensus on the properties of a profession and professionalism,[2] most definitions include characteristics related to one or more of the following properties:

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[1] For a review of studies of the professions by American sociologists, see Mary Jean Huntington, "Sociology of Professions, 1945-55" in Hans L. Zetterberg (ed.), Sociology in the United States (Paris: UNESCO, 1956). William J. Goode, Robert K. Merton, and Mary Jean Huntington are working on a conceptual framework for the study of professions.

[2] Morris Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Winter, 1953), 33-50, illustrates the wide diversity of meanings assigned to "profession". Comprehensive treatments of the professions include: A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933); Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, Professional People in England (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953). The analysis of professionalism that follows relies heavily on: Myron Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956), pp. 1-18; Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare: The Impact of Industrialization on the Supply and Organization of Social Welfare Services in the United States (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), chap. XI.

1. Technical competence. The work of a professional is an essential social service that is highly technical and based on a body of abstract knowledge; it is primarily intellectual rather than manual. Specialized technical competence is logically necessary for the development of the other characteristics of professionalism. Because the work is technical, the professional claims exclusive competence, which is reinforced by professional secrecy. Only he and the other professionals are qualified to do the job. Professional norms, furthermore, demand competent service; they constantly militate for higher standards.

a. Because the work of a professional is technical, it requires training which is relatively long, formal, and highly specialized compared with the training of the nonprofessional.

b. Long, formal training represents to most professionals an investment--a life's work. Due to both processes of self-selection (the less committed drop out) and of socialization in long, intensive training programs, professionals identify strongly with their professional groups and are dedicated to the performance of their professional skills.

2. Autonomy. Because their work is technical, and because the layman cannot determine standards or evaluate performance, professionals must exercise their own judgment in matters concerning their work. Professionals organized into associations, determine training requirements for entry into the profession and standards of work performance. Professionals thus exercise internal control over work behavior by a code of ethics enforced by their colleagues through their professional associations.

The professional is "responsible", but not "accountable", to the client. Irresponsibility and incompetence are punished not by the client or by the lay community, but by his professional association.

3. The service ideal. Although the chief source of control over work behavior is the profession, society adds to this system of controls by "expecting" that professionals behave in certain ways. Because the work of a professional is socially essential (dramatized by the patient on the operating table) and, at the same time, because he is not directly controlled by the client and the lay community, the client and the community are vulnerable. The professional norm that the welfare of the client comes before profit and self-interest protects the client and the community. This does not mean that the professional is more "altruistic" than, say, the businessman; both are concerned with success and recognition.[1] But their situations differ in that they prescribe different paths to these goals. The businessman is successful to the extent that he achieves a high income and a high position in the firm. He is also more sensitive than the professional to recognition (prestige) by the community. The professional is successful to the extent that he achieves a high degree of technical competence and adheres to the other professional norms discussed above. Recognition by professional colleagues is for him more important than high income and status in the organization and in the community.[2]

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[1] See Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," Chap. 2 in Essays in Sociological Theory (rev. ed.; Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954).

[2] Table 62 in Appendix D shows that the largest differences between the men teachers 25 to 39 years old in my sample and staff experts in a business organization are in their emphasis on "chance to rise to a high position in the organization," emphasized more by staff experts, and on "chance to

To summarize, the main characteristics of a profession are an area of exclusive technical competence requiring long, specialized training, which promotes identification with the professional group and dedication to professional skills; autonomy, i.e., freedom from outside control and substitution of internal professional control over such matters as training, entry into the profession, and standards of work; the idealization of the social responsibilities of the profession and an ideology of service, rather than of self-interest.

These three main characteristics form an ideal type which permits the classification of occupational groups or persons according to the degree to which they are professionalized. Thus I can say that physicians are more professional than teachers, and that teachers are more professional than real estate agents. Or, I can say that Teacher A is more professional than Teacher B. It is, of course, possible that a group or person may score high on one characteristic, but not on all three characteristics, suggesting several subtypes of professionals.

Teachers are not highly professionalized as a group, especially according to the main criteria of claims to exclusive competence and to professional autonomy. First, as an occupation specializing in the

---

help people," emphasized more by teachers. There is surprisingly little difference between the two groups in their emphasis on income. The meaning of these differences should be assessed with caution, however, because of possible variations both in the frames of reference of the two groups and in their objective job situations, which may influence their responses to this question. It should also be noted that a good number of the staff experts represented in Table 62 are "professionals", such as lawyers and economists; half have advanced degrees. It is possible, furthermore, that the distinction between "businessmen" and "professionals" is being obscured as management becomes more "professionalized". See Howard Bowen, "Business Management: A Profession," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCVII (January, 1955), 112-117.

"human relations" field, teachers, like social workers, have difficulty in claiming exclusive competence in a specialized area. Second, the public's belief that anyone can be an "expert" in education justifies "interference" in school problems; why give teachers autonomy if they know little more about educating children than the rest of us?

We nevertheless hear much of efforts among educators to "professionalize" the field. This means that we can expect a greater range of professionalism among teachers, as a "profession in transition", than among the more firmly entrenched professional prototype--physicians. The claims of the latter to exclusive technical competence and autonomy are taken for granted both by themselves and by the public and are seldom challenged. This variation in the degree of professionalism among teachers has an obvious operational advantage in a research study where professionalism is the major variable.[1]

I have obviously been using the term professionalism to designate two different things: (1) objective characteristics of the structure of the work situation (e.g., physicians are, in fact, more autonomous than teachers), and (2) practitioners' orientations toward these characteristics of the work situation (e.g., physicians value and take for granted autonomy in their work situation more than do teachers).

My concern in this study is with professionalism as a role orientation--a set of attitudes toward specific characteristics of the work situation. This is the major variable. But I shall not ignore objective characteristics in which individual teachers may show variations, such as the degree to which their roles are specialized, advanced professional training, and participation in professional associations. Attention to these objective characteristics is important for two reasons:

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[1] Another advantage to studying professionalism in teachers is that, as professionals in a bureaucratic setting, they typify an increasing trend among professionals in general.

1. The structural and the orientational dimensions of professionalism are not empirically independent. Parsons notes that their points of convergence and divergence pose a major sociological problem.[1] At several points in the analysis, therefore, these objective characteristics are introduced as independent variables predicting to professional orientations. The basic question here is: do structured, professional experiences have predictable effects on role orientations?

2. An assessment of the future of professionalism in teaching cannot rely solely on an investigation of professional orientations. Professional orientations are important, but their development is promoted or restricted by such basic structural factors as the power relations between school and community. This problem is discussed in Chapter VI. Both the social-psychological approach, where the major concern is with role orientations, and the structural approach, where the major concern is with objective social relations, are important and complementary in a complete analysis of the problem of professionalism.

The terms "professional" and "professionalism" are used in this report to refer to the orientational dimension of the concept. Thus, when I say that one group of teachers is more professional than another group, I mean that they are more professionally oriented. When referring to the objective dimension of professionalism, it will be identified as such.

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[1] Parsons, op. cit., pp. 45-49.

Review of the Literature on Role Orientations

Mayo, Hughes, and Barnard were among the first to recognize the importance of studying the interrelations between the person and his organizational and occupational role. Merton, Simon, Selznick, and Argyris represent more recent attempts to formulate broad, programmatic statements of the problem.[1] Barnard, Simon, and Argyris have listed various "incentives" or "inducements" to which organizational members may be attracted. These lists anticipated the recent empirical studies using typologies of role orientations.

Little research in this tradition has been done on teachers. In the classic sociological analysis of teachers Waller[2] insightfully discusses the interplay between the teaching role and personality--the selective influences of the role affecting the composition of the profession, and the influence of the teaching role on the personality of the teacher. But his analysis is not supported by empirical data and much of it applies only to teachers in small communities. Many other studies have been done on teachers' personalities, intelligence, and interests,[3] but their quality is uneven and their relevance to my problem is limited.

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[1] Mayo's thinking is reported in F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (November, 1937), 404-413; Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938); Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), chap. V; Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (2d ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957); Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*: *A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949); Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).

[2] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932).

[3] Reviewed in Lieberman, *op. cit.*, chap. 8.

A review of a number of recent empirical studies of other occupational roles in various organizational settings using the concept role orientation or its equivalent serves as a more valuable background to my specific hypotheses.[1]

Role orientation is defined by Wilensky as *the meanings a person assigns his job*, his conception of what it is and what it might be in terms of his main group identifications, or reference groups.[2] Terms roughly equivalent to role orientation in the studies reviewed are "role conception" (Reissman), "career perspective" (Marvick), "role perspective" (Habenstein and Christ), and "latent social role" and "latent social identity" (Gouldner). The labels assigned to specific role orientation types also vary (see Chart 1); e.g., Reissman's Specialist Bureaucrat is equivalent to Wilensky's Program Professional, and Habenstein and Christ's Traditionaliser is equivalent to Wilensky's Missionary. Finally, role orientation is introduced in these studies as a dependent variable, an independent variable, or both.

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[1] The studies reviewed are Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956); Leonard Reissman, "A Study of Role Orientations in Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, XXVII (March, 1949), 305-310; Dwaine Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 27, 1954); Peter Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); Robert W. Habenstein and Edwin A. Christ, *Professionaliser, Traditionaliser, and Utiliser* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1955); Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles - I, II," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, II (December, 1957 and March, 1958), 281-306, 444-480; W. G. Bennis, N. Berkowitz, M. Affinito, and M. Malone, "Reference-Groups and Loyalties in the Out-Patient Department," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, II (March, 1958), 481-500; Floyd E. Ohlin, Herman Piven and Donnell M. Pappenfort, "Major Dilemmas of the Social Worker in Probation and Parole," *National Probation and Parole Association Journal*, II (July, 1956), 211-225.

[2] Wilensky, *op*. *cit*., pp. 111-113.

In the studies by Reissman and Ohlin a typology of role orientations is described, but it is not related to other variables. Chart 1 summarizes the comparable role orientation types in the studies reviewed. Wilensky's study of staff experts in labor unions is the most comprehensive and detailed of these studies and will be reviewed first so that it may serve as a framework for discussing the other studies. Wilensky outlines four major types of role orientations; three of these types are further differentiated into subtypes:

1. The Missionary sees the union as a vehicle for change in a wider context. The specific social movements and organizations with which he is identified serve to distinguish three subtypes:

    a. The Party Missionary comes into union work with some experience in, or identified with, a radical party. He is typically a former member of the Communist or Socialist parties, or a fellow traveler.

    b. The Legislative-Liberal Missionary, more moderate than the Party Missionary, takes his main cues from the "liberal-labor movement": Americans for Democratic Action, the CIO's Political Action Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, etc. His main goal is to bring about social reform through national legislation in such fields as social welfare, civil liberties, and union-management relations. Politically active unionism is to lead the way in this program.

    c. The Religious-Ethico Missionary is committed to a program of social action based on religious ideals; he sees the labor movement as a chance for promoting a new social order based on ethical standards in human relations and brotherly love, and he may be a pacifist. Although he is not politically naive, he is often disturbed by the means used by union leaders in pursuing morally legitimate ends.

Wilensky: Union Staff Experts	Reissman: State Civil Servants	Marvick: ONR Execs. and Profs.	Blau: Employment Agency Interviewers	Habenstein: & Christ: Nurses	Gouldner: College Faculty and Adm.	Bennis: OPD Nurses	Ohlin: Correctional Officers
1. Missionary a. Party b. Legislative-Liberal c. Religious-Ethico	Service bureaucrat			Traditionalizer			
2. Professional Service Expert a. Program b. Technician	Specialist bureaucrat Functional bureaucrat	Specialist	Professionally oriented	Professionalizer	Cosmopolitan	Cosmopolitan	Welfare Worker
3. Careerist (Organization Man) a. Outside b. Rank-and-file ("Porkchopper")	Job bureaucrat	Institutionalist Hybrid	Nonprofessionally oriented	Utilizer	Local	Local	Punitive Officer
4. Politico							
Other types, not in Wilensky					Intermediate		Protective agent

Chart 1. Comparative data on role orientations in formal organizations.[a]

[a] Adapted from Harold L. Wilensky, "Role Orientation and Social Structure, The 'Fit' of Man, and Job," (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1958), mimeographed.

2. The Professional Service type's primary identification is with his profession (law, economics, journalism, etc.). His main interest is to do a competent, efficient, objective job of which his *professional* colleagues, in and outside the union, would approve. He is not as concerned with broad union goals as he is with the intrinsic nature of his professional task; anything that interferes with his achievement of professional standards disturbs him. Two subtypes are differentiated on the basis of the degree to which they are concerned with union goals:

a. The Program Professional combines a commitment to his professional skills with an interest in particular programs supporting union goals.

b. The Technician Professional is more means-centered than the Program Professional; he pushes the norm of professional neutrality and objectivity to the extreme and has little interest in the impact of his role on the organizational program.

3. The Careerist (Organization Man) type is concerned mainly with money, opportunity for promotion inside or outside the union, and security; these objectives are facilitated by identification with the union hierarchy. He has no ideology and little commitment to professional norms. This type is divided into two subtypes on the basis of his occupational origins:

a. The Rank-and-File Careerist ("Porkchopper") starts as a rank-and-file worker and union activist.

b. The Outsider Careerist comes from nonlabor, nonideological occupations; in most cases his preunion positions were relevant to his first union staff job, e.g., advertising, newspaper work, law practice.

4. The Politico's basic preoccupation is with influence and power as ends in themselves. This means, insofar as he is involved in union goals, that his involvement is in the process of their formulation rather than in the direction and the content of these goals.

Having identified the major role orientations of the staff experts, Wilensky poses two major questions: (1) what are the effects of organizational demands, conceptualized as "functional types", on the experts' role orientations, and (2) what is the impact of experts with given role orientations and performing certain functions on union decision making?

Regarding the first question, he finds that conflict between organizational demands and role orientations makes for changes in role orientations. Thus, the Missionary types are the least stable and the Technician Professionals and the Careerists are the most stable, while the Program Professionals are intermediate in stability. This pattern of change represents a movement from a goal centered to a means centered outlook.

A closer inspection of specific organizational demands on the experts in terms of "functional types", i.e., the kinds of functions they are required to perform, supports and refines this analysis. For example, Facts and Figures functions (supplying technical-economic-legal intelligence) attract and sustain Professionals; Contact functions (mediating relations between the union and the outside world) and Internal Communications functions (supplying political-ideological intelligence for internal control), on the other hand, attract and sustain Politicos and Missionaries.

Although the effects of such background characteristics as social class background, religion, ethnicity, education, etc., on role orientation are not a major focus of the study and are subjected to only a rough quantitative analysis without controls, relevant data are provided. For example:

Education. More than two-thirds of the Professionals have done graduate work, compared with less than one-half of the Missionaries, about one-third of the Careerists, and one-quarter of the Politicos.

Social Class background. While less than half of all known cases had business, professional, or white collar fathers, for Professionals it was 73 percent. On the other hand, 46 percent of all known cases had fathers in blue collar occupations, compared with 63 percent for Careerists.

Religion. Professionals tend to be Jewish (25/53 compared with a total of 45/126), while Careerists are Catholic (10/31 compared with a total of 20/122), but this may reflect social class background. Also, of the 25 who checked "none" on religion, 22 are past Missionaries, none are past Careerists.

With regard to the impact of the experts on union decision making, it is the Politicos and the Missionaries serving as Contact Men who rank highest in their influence in union decisions. Politicos and Missionaries are heavily concentrated in the Contact Man function, to begin with.

Other Studies. One of the early empirical role orientation analyses is the study of state civil servants by Reissman. Four types are charted out along a professional-bureaucratic dimension. The Functional Bureaucrat is the most professionally oriented and "just happens to be working for the government," while the Job Bureaucrat is the most bureaucratically oriented. The two intermediate types are the most ambivalent. The Specialist Bureaucrat is professionally oriented, but he also identifies with the agency. The Service Bureaucrat corresponds to Wilensky's Missionary.

A study of a military research agency by Marvick yields three main types: the Specialist, who identifies with an outside profession, the Institutionalist, who identifies with the civil or military service, and the Hybrid, who identifies equally, or ambivalently, with both groups. Brief attention is given to a number of background variables. In most cases the Hybrids are intermediate to the Specialists and the Institutionalists. The Specialists have more graduate training and more job experience. They are more likely to have a job history of both public and private employment rather than public employment only, and they are more likely to be civilians rather than military personnel. Although Marvick presents no data on the behavioral consequences of these orientations, he finds that the orientations relate to a number of attitudinal items which have rather direct consequences for organizational behavior. For example, nearly all Institutionalists look forward to a career in government and a job at the executive, rather than at the operations, level. Also, Institutionalists emphasize "research administration" as the "main thing the agency should be doing," while Specialists emphasize "basic research."

Blau distinguishes between professionally oriented and non-professionally oriented persons in his comparative study of two government agencies. Professionalism is facilitated by the following conditions: a high level of employment security, technical training, and supervisors' evaluation on the basis of results achieved rather than techniques used. With reference to behavioral consequences, the more professionally oriented persons are more concerned with raising standards than with maximizing productivity and less likely to engage in ritualistic practices and to work overtime. Working overtime is viewed as an indication of inferior ability, but it also has the function of discouraging competition based on quantity of production.

Habenstein and Christ distinguish three types in their study of nurses: the Professionalizer, whose focus is not specifically upon the patient to be healed, but upon the special things that must be done and the special modes of operations based on scientific knowledge. She is case oriented and asks for trust from society, thus implying professional responsibility. The Traditionalizer focuses on the service ideal and is more patient centered. The Utilizer has no involvement in her work, and her main source of personal identity lies outside the work situation.

The main comparisons are between the Professionalizers and the Traditionalizers. The Professionalizers tend to be younger than the Traditionalizers and are more likely to be graduates of schools of nursing. They also tend to be concentrated in metropolitan hospitals, where more advanced specialization makes their skills and their outlook more appropriate. With regard to job behavior, Professionalizers are more anxious to delegate low-status assignments and "dirty work" to auxiliary personnel; the Traditionalizers, being more patient centered, are more likely to see these tasks as a part of their responsibility. Also, Professionalizers defer less to doctors than do Traditionalizers. Although Professionalizers usually start in higher positions, such as head nurse or nurse supervisor, they are no more upwardly mobile than the Traditionalizers.

Two studies utilise Merton's distinction between "cosmopolitan" and "local" community roles,[1] and apply them to organisational settings. Gouldner labels them "latent social identities". The Cosmopolitan corresponds to Wilensky's Professional. He is low on loyalty to the employing organisation, high on commitment to professional role skills, and identifies with an outside professional group. The Local corresponds to Wilensky's Careerist. He is high on loyalty to the employing organization, low on commitment to specialised professional skills, and does not identify with an outside professional group.

In his study of teaching, research, and administrative personnel in a small, liberal arts, cooperative college, Gouldner finds that Cosmopolitans, compared with Locals, have more advanced training and are more likely to be found in teaching and/or research positions than in administrative positions. The orientations are related to four self-reported areas of behavior: influence, participation in community activities, informal colleague relations, and "rule tropism", i.e., proceduralism. The relationships between orientations, on the one hand, and influence score and community participation, on the other, are not monotonic; the Intermediates, who score between Cosmopolitans and Locals, report more influence and more community participation than either the extreme Cosmopolitans or extreme Locals.

With regard to informal colleague relations, the Locals are slightly more sociable than the Cosmopolitans and they tend to prefer other Locals; Cosmopolitans prefer neither Locals nor Cosmopolitans.[1] Finally, the extreme Locals are most procedural, followed by the Intermediates and the extreme Cosmopolitans, in that order.

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[1] Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," Chap. 10 in Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. ed.; Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).

The second study by Bennis et al. using the Cosmopolitan-Local dichotomy concerns nurses in an outpatient department. The authors find that Cosmopolitans are younger and are better trained. They are more likely to be graduates of a bachelor's degree program than of a three-year, nondegree program.

Finally, a study of correctional officers by Ohlin et al. outlines three types: the professionally oriented Welfare Worker, whose main interest is the improved welfare of the client; the Punitive Officer, who is more concerned with controlling the offender by using coercion, threats, and punishment; and the Protective Agent, whose loyalties lie between those of the first two types, and hence experiences the most conflict. He vacillates between helping the offender and protecting the community.

Despite variations in the labels used, the occupational roles, and the organizational settings in the studies just reviewed, two general types emerge from each study: the Professional and the Careerist, to use Wilensky's labels. Most of the findings, summarized in Chart 2, compare these two types. For example, Professionals come from Jewish or middle class backgrounds rather than from Catholic or working class backgrounds (Wilensky); they have more formal training (Wilensky, Marvick, Blau, Habenstein and Christ, Gouldner, Bennis et al.); they are found in positions that emphasize specialized role skills (Wilensky, Habenstein and Christ, Gouldner), and they are less procedural (Blau, Gouldner).

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[1] This finding may be explained in terms of the more intensive, specialized, professional interests of the Cosmopolitans; a Local has more in common with any other Local than, say, a Cosmopolitan chemistry professor with a Cosmopolitan humanities professor. Since the research setting is a small college with a faculty of 130, faculty members have few colleagues in their own departments from which to choose.

In the present study of high school teachers I am concerned only with Professionals, i.e., those with high scores on a professionalism index, and I shall compare them with their opposites with respect to social origins, experiences in the work setting, and certain aspects of performance. Since my types are marked off along an index of professionalism, I shall not refer to Professionals and Careerists, but to "high" Professionals and "low" Professionals.[1] This, however, raises an important question in the light of the more detailed typology formulated by Wilensky: what is included in my simple dichotomy of "high" and "low" Professionals, and what is excluded? Although the Missionary, the Careerist, and the Politico are not explicitly introduced in this study, it is necessary to consider their relevance to a study of high school teachers and their relationship to the professionalism dimension actually used. I must assess the degree to which the professionalism dimension actually captures the most frequent role orientations of high school teachers. This will also clarify and elaborate the meaning of professionalism as applied to high school teachers.

I can begin by eliminating the Politico. There is no such type among teachers; at least their number is too small to justify their study. Even in an organization as "political" as a labor union, only a small

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[1] In some parts of the analysis the professionalism index is trichotomized into "high", "medium", and "low" professionals. See Chapter II.

Study	Factors in Development of Role Orientations	Effects of Role Orientations on Organisational Performance
Wilensky	1. Organisational demands in general, and functional types in particular **Background characteristics:** 2. Education ---------- Professional 3. SES of parents: High -------------- Professional Low -------------- Careerist 4. Religion: Catholic ---------- Careerist Jewish ------------ Professional	1. Politico and Missionary---- High influence in union decisions Professional -------------→ Medium influence... Careerist --------------- Low influence...
Reissman	No data reported	No data reported

Chart 2. Comparative data on development of role orientations and their effects on organisational performance.

Study	Factors in Development of Role Orientation	Effects of Role Orientations on Organisational Performance
Marvick	Background characteristics: 1. Education ------------ Specialist 2. Job experience ------- Specialist 3. Public employment only-Institutionalist Both public and private employment ------ Specialist 4. Civilian ------------- Specialist Military ------------- Institutionalist	Career plans: 1. Specialist -------- career in govt. or outside; job at operations level Institutionalist -- career in govt. only; job at executive level "What agency should be doing" 2. Specialist -------- basic research Institutionalist -- research administration
Blau	Organisational characteristics: 1. High level of employment security-------- Professionally oriented 2. Supervisors' evaluation on the basis of results achieved rather than techniques used ------- Professionally oriented 3. Technical training program -------------- Professionally oriented	1. Professionally oriented --------- concern with raising standards rather than maximizing productivity 2. Nonprofessionally oriented --------- ritualism 3. Nonprofessionally oriented --------- overtime

Chart 2. (Continued)

Study	Factors in Development of Role Orientations	Effects of Role Orientations on Organizational Performance
Habenstein & Christ	Organizational characteristics: 1. Metropolitan hospitals ------------ Professionalizer Nonmetropolitan hospitals ----------- Traditionalizer Background characteristics: 2. Age ------------------ Traditionalizer 3. Education ------------ Professionalizer	1. Traditionalizer ----- accepts low status assignments Professionalizer ---- delegates assignments to auxiliaries 2. Traditionalizer ----- defers to doctors
Gouldner	Organizational position: 1. Teaching and/or research ------------ Cosmopolitan Administrative -------- Local Background characteristics: 2. Advanced graduate training ------------ Cosmopolitan	1. Intermediate -------- high influence 2. Intermediate -------- high participation in community activities 3. Local -------------- informal colleague relations 4. Local -------------- proceduralism
Bennis	Background characteristics: 1. Age ------------------ Local 2. Education ------------ Cosmopolitan	No data reported
Ohlin	No data reported	No data reported

Chart 2. (Continued)

number, 10 percent, show up. Although several structural conditions are present for the rise of the Politico type in education, e.g., the diffuseness of organizational goals provides an arena in which the Politico can play with power,[1] the absence of even a minimum amount of teacher autonomy from the school administration and from the community makes his appearance rare among teachers. In general, teachers do not see themselves as playing any sizable role in the political process involving school affairs, and the community endorses this conception.

What about the Missionary? The central interest of the Missionary is social service. This may show itself in commitment to a large-scale program for social reform or on a more limited and intimate professional-to-client level. The Missionary type might be further differentiated, therefore, according to the breadth of his program--social reform versus individual client service on a casework level.

The Missionary in the social reform sense is not represented in this study. Although some educators, the "social reconstructionists", see the American public school as an agent of social reform, the absence of this type from my study is not a serious limitation. The small proportion of "social reconstructionist" responses to a question on "the goals of secondary education" indicates that the frequency of this type is low (see Table 39, Appendix C). The casework orientation of the second Missionary subtype, however, corresponds to the professional norm of service. The casework oriented Missionary is thus subsumed under the

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[1] See Wilensky, op. cit., p. 162.

Professional label.[1]

Another basis for differentiating Professional subtypes among secondary school teachers is found in the conflict between two major schools of thought in American education--the "life adjustment" school and the "intellectual training" school. Again, it is the scope of the organizational objectives that differentiates them. The teacher committed to "life adjustment" is presumably concerned with the "whole child", while the teacher committed to "intellectual training", often a "subject matter specialist", sees the school performing a more specialized and distinctive function and relegates "life adjustment" and "character development" to the family and other social units. Table 39 in Appendix C shows that the three Professional subtypes, those who emphasize social reconstruction, life adjustment, and intellectual training, are not differentially distributed among "high", "medium", and "low" Professionals.

This leaves the Careerist. In several respects it is the Careerist who is most "opposite" to the Professional, and this is supported by the majority of the findings comparing the two types in Chart 2. The Professional's service ideal conflicts with the Careerist's emphasis on self-interest (income, prestige, and security), and his identification with a professional skill group conflicts with the Careerist's loyalty to the organization and its hierarchy. In this sense, then, the Careerist appears in this study as the teacher who scores "low" on the professionalism index.

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[1] This suggests that other Professional subtypes might have been constructed on the basis of which of the several professional norms discussed above--competence, autonomy, service--was emphasized most.

To summarize: I have eliminated the Politico and the social reform oriented Missionary because of their infrequent appearance among high school teachers, and I have subsumed the service-on-a-casework level Missionary under my "high" Professional label. This leaves the Careerist, who is subsumed under the "low" Professional category.

Chart 3, below, identifies the variables in this study and their interrelations. This is followed by the hypotheses, divided into three parts, to correspond to each of the three sets of objectives already stated.

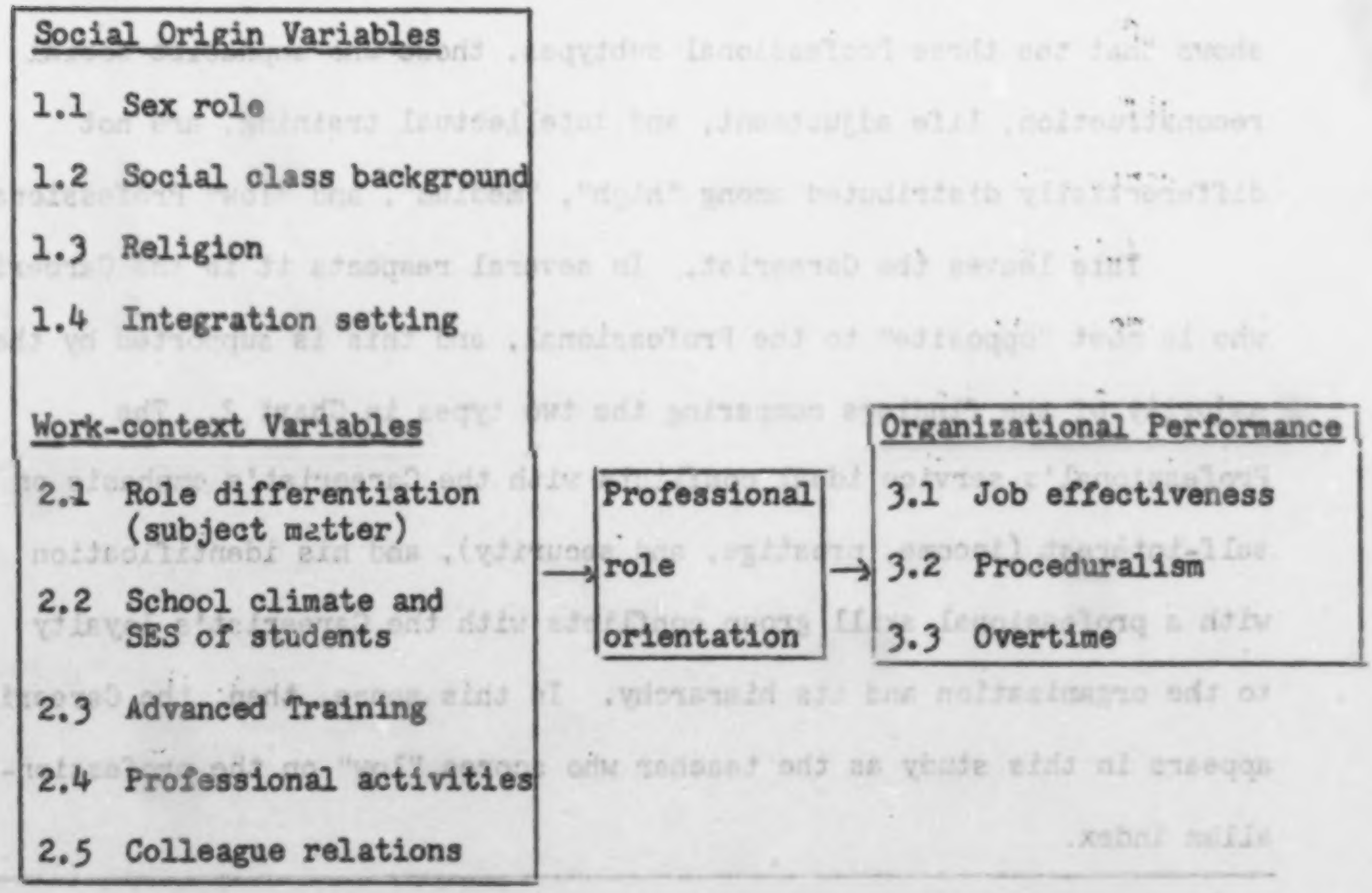
Social Origin Variables
1.1 Sex role
1.2 Social class background
1.3 Religion
1.4 Integration setting
Work-context Variables
2.1 Role differentiation (subject matter)
2.2 School climate and SES of students
2.3 Advanced Training
2.4 Professional activities
2.5 Colleague relations
Professional role orientation
Organizational Performance
3.1 Job effectiveness
3.2 Proceduralism
3.3 Overtime

Chart 3. The variables and their interrelations

Hypotheses

1. Patterns of Early Socialization and Professionalism. In defining professionalism, I indicated that persons in an occupational role vary in the degree to which they are professionally oriented toward their work. The first group of hypotheses examines the effects of certain background characteristics on professionalism. Sex role, social class background, religion, and integration setting are viewed as experiences in early socialization that vary in the degree to which they promote or inhibit the development of a professional orientation. In distinction to the experiences examined under the second group of hypotheses, these characteristics are located clearly outside the work setting and originate long before the teacher takes his first job.

Sex is also used as a control throughout the study, as is social class background in Chapters III and IV.

1.1 Sex role and professionalism

Assumption 1: For the majority of women teachers, married or single, their work roles are secondary to their family roles as sources of personal identity. Even among those not yet married, the majority hope they will marry before long. As a result, women are less involved than men in their work and therefore less committed to professional norms toward work.

Assumption 2: Preoccupation with economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position is incompatible with professional norms.

Assumption 3: Societal pressures for "success", in terms of economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position, are more demanding for men than they are for women in American society. Men are more upwardly mobile than women in the work setting; hence, less professional.

> Assumption 4: Autonomy and competence are values in American society that are demanded more of men than they are of women; the role training of men is therefore more congruent than that of women with the professional norms emphasizing autonomy and competence.
>
> Assumption 5: Kindness, nurturance, and helping others (the Florence Nightingale model) are qualities expected more of women than of men. The professional service ideal is therefore valued more by women as an extension of their role training than by men.

The various meanings of sex role in these assumptions have contradictory effects on professionalism; it is also possible that men teachers score higher on some characteristics of professionalism, and women teachers score higher on other characteristics. Assumptions 1 to 5 can be tested separately, and this is done in Chapter III. A prediction about the net effects of sex role, however, requires a judgment of the relative impact of the various components of sex role. I assumed that the inhibiting effects on professionalism of women's primary involvement in their family roles (Assumption 1) are more powerful than the cumulative effects of their service orientation (Assumption 5) and of men's success striving (Assumptions 2 and 3). Hence:

> Hypothesis 1.1: Men teachers are more professional than women teachers.
>
> Corollary 1.1.1: Single women teachers are more professional than married women teachers.

1.2 Social class background and professionalism

> Assumption 1: Teaching is a lower middle class occupation.
>
> Assumption 2: For teachers with working class backgrounds, teaching means a step upward in income and prestige. For teachers with middle and upper class origins, teaching does not mean a step upward; persons with these social origins and with high mobility aspirations are not likely to choose teaching as a career.

Assumption 3: Preoccupation with economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position is incompatible with professional norms.

Hypothesis 1.2: Teachers with working class origins are less professional than teachers with middle and upper class origins.

1.3 Religion and professionalism

Assumption 1: The Protestant Ethic is an historical antecedent of the rise of capitalism, science, bureaucracy, and professionalism. In contemporary society the Protestant Ethic supports each of the corresponding value systems. The common theme is rationality and its derivatives--autonomy, technical efficiency (competence), objectivity, and impartiality.

Assumption 2: Protestants are more likely to subscribe to the tenets of the Protestant Ethic than Catholics.

Hypothesis 1.3: Protestant teachers are more professional than Catholic teachers.

Assumption 3: The stronger a person's commitment to the values of his religious group, the stronger will be the effects of these values on his nonreligious values and behavior.

Assumption 4: Frequency of attendance at religious services is an indicator of religious commitment.

Corollary 1.3: The predicted difference in professionalism between Protestant teachers and Catholic teachers is greater among those who attend church frequently than among those who do not attend church frequently.

1.4 Integration setting and professionalism

Assumption 1: The themes stressed in an entrepreneurial home--rationality, self-control, self-reliance and an "active, manipulative stance toward the environment"--are more congruent with the professional norms of autonomy and competence than the themes stressed in a welfare bureaucratic home--accommodation and a spontaneous expression of emotions.

Assumption 2: The themes stressed in a welfare bureaucratic home are more congruent with the professional norm of service than the themes stressed in an entrepreneurial home.

Integration setting has an inconsistent effect on the three main components of professionalism. Assuming that the entrepreneurial emphasis on autonomy and competence, measured by three items in the professionalism index, is stronger than the welfare bureaucratic emphasis on service, measured by one item, then:

Hypothesis 1.4: Teachers with entrepreneurial family origins are more professional than teachers with welfare bureaucratic family origins.

Assumptions 1 and 2 may be tested directly by separating the professionalism index into its components. This is done in Chapter III.

2. Work-context Variables and Professionalism. The second group of hypotheses deals with a number of independent variables that are part of the work context. Since they occur after the teacher begins his career, self-selecting processes may be at work reversing the cause-and-effect relationship between these variables and professionalism, i.e., the more professionally oriented teachers may tend to choose academic subjects, to take advanced training, to participate actively in professional associations, etc. I intend, however, to demonstrate the role of these variables as primarily independent, i.e., as sources of socialization in the work situation that promote professionalism.

Organizational climate, advanced training, professional activities and colleague relations are viewed as social situations that sustain and reinforce a professional orientation. The academic teaching role promotes a professional orientation through its emphasis on intellectual skills.

2.1 Role differentiation and professionalism

Assumption 1: Professionalism varies positively with the level of intellectual skills and specialized training required by the role.

Assumption 2: Academic subjects require a higher level of intellectual skills and specialized training than do nonacademic subjects.

Hypothesis 2.1: Teachers of academic subjects are more professional than teachers of nonacademic subjects.

2.2 Organizational climate and professionalism

Hypothesis 2.2.1: The more professional the working climate of the school, the higher the level of professionalism in its teachers.

Assumption 1: The more professional the working climate of the school, the higher the level of professionalism in its teachers.

Assumption 2: The working problems of schools in low social-economic areas, specifically, student discipline and motivation and parent apathy, inhibit the growth of a professional working climate.

Hypothesis 2.2.2: Teachers in schools in low social-economic areas are less professional than teachers in schools in middle and high social-economic areas.

2.3 Advanced training and professionalism

Hypothesis 2.3: Professionalism varies positively with advanced training.

2.4 Professional activities and professionalism

Hypothesis 2.4.1: Professionalism varies positively with participation in professional associations.

Assumption 1: The American Federation of Teachers emphasizes teacher autonomy more than the National Education Association.

Hypothesis 2.4.2: Members of the AFT are more professional than members of the NEA.

2.5 Informal colleague relations and professionalism

Hypothesis 2.5: Professionalism varies positively with the frequency of informal relations with colleagues on and off the job.

3. Professionalism and Its Consequences for Organizational Performance.

Hypotheses in this third group treat professionalism as an independent variable, predicting to three aspects of organizational performance: job effectiveness, proceduralism, and overtime.

3.1 Professionalism and job effectiveness

Hypothesis 3.1: Job effectiveness varies positively with professionalism.

3.2 Professionalism and proceduralism

Hypothesis 3.2: Proceduralism varies negatively with professionalism.

3.3 Professionalism and working overtime

Assumption 1: Working overtime without pay indicates dedication to professional skills.

Assumption 2: Working overtime without pay also violates professional control over workload.

Assuming that Assumption 1 has a stronger effect on whether a teacher works overtime than Assumption 2, then:

Hypothesis 3.3: Working overtime without pay varies positively with professionalism.

Chapters III, IV, and V discuss in detail each of the above hypotheses and the relevant findings. Other findings, not anticipated in the hypotheses, but relevant to the topic under discussion, are also introduced in these chapters. I turn now to a description of the research setting and the research methods used.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH SETTING AND RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter describes the community and the sample, the field work, the measures of professionalism, and the statistical methods used in this study.

The Community

The community is part of a large, industrial, metropolitan area in the Midwest. It houses one of the nation's largest manufacturing plants, concentrated in one corner of the incorporated area. Although the community is primarily residential, it thus has the advantage of a high and stable tax base. The major company in the community pays more than half of the city's tax bill. The median family income in 1950 was $4,328, compared with a state median of $3,195, and a national median of $2,619.[1]

The population in 1950 was 95,000, and its composition according to birthplace and race was as follows:

Birthplace and Race	Community	U. S.
Native-born white	83.4%	83.0%
Foreign-born white	16.5	6.7
Nonwhite	.1	10.3
	100.0%	100.0%

Note the almost total absence of nonwhites. The mayor of the community, in office for over a decade, has pursued a tenacious policy of keeping Negro residents out of the community. Many Negroes are employed in the factories, but they live in neighboring communities. It may also be significant that there is not a single Jewish synagogue in the community. Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches are most heavily represented among the Christian churches.

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[1] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population," U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 22.

The Sample

My sample consists of 545 secondary school teachers (grades seven through twelve), which is 90 percent of the total number of secondary school teachers in the system. It includes visiting teachers, speech therapists, and guidance personnel, many of whom also teach subject matter courses, but does not include principals, assistant principals, nurses, and librarians. A handful of teachers who teach or work with students on both the elementary and secondary levels are also included.

The study is restricted to secondary level teachers for the following methodological and practical reasons:

1. Since sex role is an important variable in my design, a balanced number of men and women was necessary. On the secondary level 62 percent of the teachers are men, compared with only 15 percent on the elementary level.

2. Restricting the study to secondary level teachers in eleven schools facilitated the field work a great deal. It also eliminated the design of a sampling plan, which would have been necessary had I included all grade levels in the system's 33 schools.

The study sample is atypical in several respects. Some of these atypicalities derive from the above-mentioned characteristics of the community, e.g., a high tax base and no Negro residents, while others appear to be independent of the community (see Table 41 in Appendix C, which summarizes some comparisons with a national sample).

The Salary Schedule. The school system has one of the highest salary schedules in the metropolitan area, which, in turn, has one of the highest in the nation. The median salary of my sample (1958-59) was $7,000, compared with a state median (1955-56) of $4,711 and a national median (1955-56) of $4,156.[1] The salary for an inexperienced teacher with a Master's degree was $5,650, rising to $8,550 in nine years. There was no difference in median salary between men and women teachers.

The American Federation of Teachers. The most unusual feature of the system is the position of the local unit of the AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers. In 1960 the AFT's national membership numbered only 55,000, compared with the National Education Association's 714,000.[2] In this system, of the 436 teachers who reported belonging to either an AFT unit or an NEA unit, 72 percent were members of the AFT and/or a state and/or a local chapter, and 28 percent were members of the NEA and/or a state and/or a local chapter. In addition to its numerical dominance, the AFT local exercises an atypical amount of influence in school and community affairs. For example, it takes an active and official part in supporting candidates in school board elections.

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[1] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56: Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances," in *Biennial Study of Education in the United States, 1955-56* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959). These figures are only roughly comparable because (1) they refer to different time periods, and (2) the state and national medians include elementary teachers, supervisors, principals, guidance personnel, librarians, and psychological personnel, in addition to secondary school teachers. The lower salaries of the elementary teachers and the higher salaries of the others may, however, cancel each other out.

[2] *The New York Times*, July 3, 1960, Section 4, p. 8.

Teaching Experience and Turnover. My sample is less experienced than a national sample of secondary level teachers. The median number of years of teaching experience is 8 (7 years for men and 11 years for women) compared with a median of 12 years for the national sample.[1]

One consequence of a high salary schedule is low turnover, especially among men. Of the more than 600 secondary teachers in the system, only 10 percent (65) left for any reason during 1958 to 1959, including resignations for maternity, retirement or health reasons. The figures for men and women were 5 percent and 20 percent, respectively. The national turnover rate for secondary teachers was 17 percent--15 percent for men and 20 percent for women.[2] This combination of less teaching experience and a lower turnover rate indicates a more rapidly growing staff than average, and an increasing proportion of men teachers.

Training. The study sample has more training than the national sample; 60 percent and 44 percent, respectively, have Master's degrees. The men in my sample have more training than the women; 69 percent and 45 percent, respectively, have Master's degrees, but there is no comparable difference in the national sample.

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[1] "The Status of American Public School Teachers," National Education Association Research Bulletin, XXXV (February, 1957). The national data that follow are based on this report, unless otherwise noted. It should be pointed out that the national data include teachers in rural areas as well as in urban areas.

[2] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Teacher Turnover in the Public Schools, 1957-58," Circular No. 608 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959).

Age and Sex Composition. My sample is younger and contains a higher proportion of men teachers than average. The median age is 36, compared with a national median of 40 for secondary teachers. Men are younger in both samples. Sixty-two percent of my sample are men, compared with 49 percent of the secondary teachers in the nation and 45 percent in the state.[1]

Social Class Background. The national sample of teachers is much more likely than the study sample to come from farm backgrounds, reflecting in part an older population of teachers and in part the inclusion of rural teachers in the national sample. Among men teachers, the difference is distributed equally between middle class and working class teachers in the study sample. Among women, however, a much higher proportion of the study sample than of the national sample come from middle-class backgrounds; the proportions coming from working-class backgrounds are about the same. Reflecting the social composition of the community, there are no Negro teachers or students in the school system, and only four Jewish teachers in my sample.

In summary, the study sample has a high salary schedule and a low turnover rate compared with other school systems, and the American Federation of Teachers is the majority, rather than the minority, organization. The teachers are younger and less experienced, but they are better trained. The proportion of men teachers is also higher. A considerably smaller proportion of teachers in the study sample come from farm backgrounds, and a disproportionately high number of women teachers in the study sample come from middle-class backgrounds. The effects of these characteristics in limiting the generalizability of the findings is discussed briefly in Chapter VI.

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[1] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems . . . .", loc. cit.

The Field Work

I met the superintendent of the school system early in October, 1958. In the next few weeks I met the officers of the two teachers' organizations and the principals of the eleven schools in which any of the secondary grades were taught. I explained the general objectives of the study and requested their support. In general, the response was favorable.

Three weeks before the administration of the questionnaire a Staff Newsletter sent to all employees of the system contained a brief notice of the study urging the teachers to cooperate. One week later a memorandum signed by the superintendent, the two assistant superintendents, and the president of each teachers' organization was sent to the principals explaining the importance of the study and confirming the date on which it was to be administered. Several principals made copies of this memorandum and distributed them to their teachers. Others posted it for their teachers to see.

Each of the eleven schools was visited by a graduate student from the University of Michigan after the close of school on December 8.[1] Ten of the eleven schools would otherwise have had a teachers' meeting scheduled that afternoon. This probably reduced the teachers' resistance to putting in "extra time" on a research study. Although it was explained that individual cooperation was voluntary, a number of teachers nevertheless felt that they were expected to attend the meetings and fill out questionnaires, and some felt that they were pressured into it by their principals.

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[1] The twelve visiting teachers were covered in a special staff meeting the following week.

The University representative met the teachers in groups ranging from 15 to 92 in the school library or cafeteria, briefly introduced the study, and distributed the questionnaires (see Appendix B for the introduction to the study and a copy of the questionnaire). One teacher refused to answer the questionnaire and left the meeting.

The teachers took between 35 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes to fill in their questionnaires. The majority finished between 40 and 50 minutes.

Although the questionnaires were anonymous, attendance was taken. It was explained that this was done only so that I could contact those teachers "who were not able to make it this afternoon" (e.g., athletic coaches working with their teams and teachers absent from school that day), and ask them to fill in questionnaires.

Of the 77 teachers who were absent from the December 8 meetings, I met 68 of them between class periods at school later that week and the following week. I described the study and asked each one to fill in a questionnaire and return it in a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Most of them had heard about the study from their colleagues. Three refused to cooperate at the outset; 44 returned completed questionnaires by January 31. I have no reason to suspect that the responses of these teachers were influenced by any conditions other than those operating for the teachers at the December 8 group meetings except that, as a group, the 44 were probably more cooperative than those at the meetings. It was considerably more difficult for the noninterested teachers at the meetings to refuse to at least go through the motions of answering the questionnaire, whereas the noninterested among the 68 teachers simply did not mail their questionnaires in.

Table 42 in Appendix C shows that at least 88 percent of the teachers in each school completed questionnaires. Twenty-two teachers were eliminated from the analysis because they did not answer one or more items in the professionalism index.

An Index of Professionalism

The principle variable in this study, professionalism, is measured by an index based on answers to four items, which are part of a fifteen-item question (see Question 9, A to C, in the questionnaire in Appendix B for the complete battery of items). Each of the four items corresponds to one of the three major properties of professionalism: competence, autonomy, and service.

The items appear twice in the questionnaire, once referring to the past ("when you first began to teach"), and once referring to the present. Question 9 A, referring to the past, reads:

> 9. A. People have different ideas about what is important in a job. In the table below please check off each of the items according to how important it was to you in a job when you first began to teach.
> ["Necessary" (1 point), "Very important" (3 points), "Fairly important" (5 points), "Not too important" (7 points)]
>
> 1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent [TECHNICAL COMPETENCE][1].
>
> 2. Doing work my colleagues respect [TECHNICAL COMPETENCE].
>
> 3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done [AUTONOMY].
>
> 4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society [SERVICE IDEAL].

In Question 9 B, the same items are introduced by:

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[1] Identifies the property of professionalism to which the item corresponds.

9,B. Thinking about the present, please check off each of the same items according to how important it is to you in a job now.

It is assumed that the more importance a teacher assigns to these job factors, the more professionally oriented he is toward his work.

Because of the central importance of technical competence among the properties of professionalism, as indicated in Chapter I, it is measured by two items, giving it a double-weighting compared with the properties of autonomy and service. Actually, the two items measure two distinct aspects of competence. The first ("chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent") assesses the value of working in a situation where professional colleagues have a high degree of competence. The second ("doing work my colleague respect") measures the importance to the respondent of his doing work judged competent by his professional colleagues.

How the Professionalism Index Is Used. Three measures of professionalism based on the professionalism index are used in this study. Past and present professionalism scores were computed by "adding" the importance assigned to each item in the index--one point for "necessary", three points for "very important", five points for "fairly important", and seven points for "not too important". Scores could thus vary from a high professionalism of 4 to a low of 28. The actual frequency distributions for past and present were as follows:

Score	Past		Present	
4	4%	35%	6%	44%
6	6		9	
8	10		11	
10	15		18	
12	19		20	
14	18		19	
16	15		10	
18	7		5	
20	3		2	
22	2		a	
24-28	1		a	
	100%		100%	
	(545)		(545)	

[a] Less than 0.5%

For the major part of the study, i.e., where professionalism is the dependent variable (Chapters III and IV), the distribution was divided into two parts, as close to the median of the present professionalism distribution as possible: the high professionals, with scores from 4 to 10, make up 35 percent of the past distribution and 44 percent of the present distribution, and the low professionals, with scores from 12 to 28, make up 65 percent of the past and 56 percent of the present distribution. In the tables in Chapters III and IV, "Percentage High Professional, Past", and "Percentage High Professional, Present" refer to the percentage of a given group of teachers, e.g., academic teachers versus nonacademic teachers, who score high on professionalism in the past and present, respectively.[1]

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[1] A trichotomy of the professionalism index into "very high" (scores 4 and 6), "medium high" (scores 8 and 10), and "low" (scores 12 to 28) did not significantly reverse the findings based on a simple dichotomy. The latter has the advantage of simplifying the presentation and the analysis.

In Chapter III, which examines the effects of social origin variables on professionalism, only present professionalism is used. Past professionalism might seem the more appropriate measure since it is, ideally, not contaminated by influences operating after the teacher enters teaching. I decided to use present professionalism here, however, because of the serious limitations of recall in past professionalism. Unless otherwise specified, "professionalism" in the tables refers to the present measure.

In Chapter IV, which examines the effects of the work-context variables on professionalism, past and present professionalism and "Percentage Net Increase in Professsionalism" (hereafter referred to as NIP) are all used simultaneously. NIP, also based on the professionalism index, is the percentage of those teachers in a group who have become more professional between the time they entered teaching and the present, less the percentage who have become less professional during this interval. Or, to put it another way, it is the number of teachers in a group who have become more professional between the time they entered teaching and the present, less the number who have become less professional, expressed as a percentage of the total number of teachers in that group. A gain or loss in professionalism in a given teacher is based on a comparison of his past and present professionalism scores. Thus, a teacher whose past score is 18 and whose present score is 16 has become more professional, while a teacher whose past score is 4 and present score is 10 has become less professional. Note that the amount of change is not taken into account; small changes are given as much weight as big changes.[1] NIP, therefore, measures the net effect of a variable in promoting professionalism. It is especially appropriate for measuring the effect of work-context variables since it controls for the effects of prejob influences on professionalism. It is also more sensitive to change than comparisons between the past and present professionalism levels since it measures any change in professionalism in the teacher. The rationale for the simultaneous use of the past, present and NIP measures is explained in Chapter IV.

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[1] The NIP is comparable to the measure "net proportion who change" used in the experimental studies reported in Carl I. Hovland, Arthur A. Lumsdaine, and Fred D. Sheffield, Experiments in Mass Communications, Vol. III, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

In Chapter V, where professionalism is introduced as an independent variable, the distribution of scores on the present professionalism index is trichotomized into high professionals (scores 4 to 10), medium professionals (scores 12 to 14), and low professionals (scores 16 to 28).

The correlation coefficients between the four items in the present professionalism, computed separately for men and women teachers, indicate that the items are tapping a set of (to some degree) functionally interrelated dimensions of professionalism (see Table 1) . Onthe other hand, it is reasonable to argue that intercorrelations nearer zero would indicate that the four items were measuring conceptually distinct dimensions of professionalism, hence would yield a more valid index of professionalism.

The possibility that the correlations are a function of "response set" in the fifteen-item question, i.e., that respondents who check one item as "necessary" are also likely to check other items as "necessary", regardless of the content of these items, is examined by comparing the average of the intercorrelations between the four items in the index with the average of all

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1949), pp. 303-305. One of the limitations of NIP is the "ceiling" effect. Teachers whose past professionalism score is 4 cannot show an increase in professionalism. This is not serious here, however, because only 4 percent of the sample has a past score of 4.

other intercorrelations in the 15 by 15 matrix. The differences are small. For men teachers, the average intercorrelation between the four professionalism items is .25, compared to an average of all other intercorrelations of .17. For women teachers, the corresponding intercorrelations are .31 and .23, respectively.

TABLE 1

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN ITEMS IN PROFESSIONALISM INDEX[1]

	Men (N = 340)			
Item	Competence	Competence	Autonomy	Service
	1	2	3	4
Competence 1		.32	.31	.23
Competence 2			.31	.16
Autonomy 3				.15
Service 4				
	Women (N = 205)			
Competence 1		.38	.38	.26
Competence 2			.28	.26
Autonomy 3				.30
Service 4				

---

[1] Note that the intercorrelations between the item tapping the service ideal and the items tapping autonomy and competence are lower than the intercorrelations between the autonomy and competence items, especially for men (.23, .16, and .15 compared with .32, .31, and .31 for men; .26, .26, and .30 compared with .38, .38, and .28 for women). This suggests a distinct professional subtype--the service-oriented Missionary, described in Chapter I. It also suggests that the major properties of professionalism are related to other variables (e.g., sex role, social class background, religion, and integration setting) in different ways and that these variations are obscured by using a blanket index of professionalism. Certain tables in Appendix C handle this problem by showing variables tabulated separately against each of the four items in the professionalism index. Relationships between these items and other variables, however, are nearly always in the same direction, even when differences in direction are expected.

Statistical Methods Used

Since I have a 90 percent enumeration of the universe, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether tests of statistical significance are appropriate. Another way to ask the question is: of what is my sample a sample?

Although I cannot, on statistical grounds, generalize the findings of this study to other school systems in other communities, I can conceive of a hypothetical universe of repeated surveys of my sample under similar conditions.[1] Tests of significance are therefore computed to assess the reliability of the findings, or the probability of getting observed differences between subgroups of teachers in a hypothetical universe of repeated surveys where there are no differences between these subgroups.

Statistical tests are computed for those data which test my hypotheses and for certain other data that are directly relevant to the main analysis. Findings that are only incidentally relevant to the main analysis are not tested for statistical significance. Since sex is a control variable throughout the study, statistical tests are computed separately for men and women teachers.

In two-by-two tables, I test for the significance of the difference between proportions. This test is equivalent to the chi-square test with one degree of freedom. The strength of the relationship can be assessed by examining the size of the difference between percentages. To compute the significance of the relationship between two dichotomous variables in several subgroups, I combine the individual chi-squares, using a weighting technique based on the size of the subgroup. The statistic $\frac{\sqrt{X^2 n}}{\sqrt{N}}$ is normally distributed.[1]

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[1] For a discussion of the concept of hypothetical universe, see Margaret I. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 193-195, 287-293, 418-423.

In cases where the relationship tested is between two ordinal variables with two or more classes (e.g., Table 7), or between an ordinal variable with two or more classes and a nonordinal variable with only two classes (e.g., Table 9), I use Smith's adaptation of Kendall's tau.[2] I also use this test in relationships involving NIP by reducing the latter into an ordinal, trichotomous variable of "increases", "stables", and "decreases". Unlike chi-square, the Smith test is sensitive to monotonicity, or progressive changes between ordinal variables with two or more clasees. In tables with at least two degrees of freedom, the Smith test is approximately normally distributed. The strength of the relationship in these cases is obtained by computing t_c, which corrects for ties and adjusts for an unequal number of rows and columns.[3]

In one instance I use the ordinary Kendall's tau and Kendall's partial tau (Table 22). Tests of significance are not computed for the latter, however, because its sampling distribution is not yet known.

I use one-tailed tests in those cases where I predict the direction of the relationship between two variables. Where the observed relationship is opposite to that predicted, or where I do not predict the direction of the relationship, or, finally, when I predict that there is no relationship between two variables, I use a two-tailed test. The exact probability value is reported in all cases.

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[1] Developed by Seymour Jablon and Regina Loewenstein at the National Research Council.

[2] J. E. K. Smith, "On the Analysis of Contingency Tables with Ordered Classifications." Unpublished manuscript.

[3] See Maurice G. Kendall, Rank Correlation Methods (2d ed.; London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1955), pp. 47-48.

A probability value of .05 or less, I decided, is significant; a probability of .20 or more is clearly not significant. Probability values between .05 and .20, although not significant, still "approach" significance, or "suggest" a trend. In some cases I use clearly nonsignificant findings to explain a relationship found in another table.

2

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION AND PROFESSIONALISM

> Every formal organization....attempts to mobilize human and technical resources as means for the achievement of its ends. However, the individuals within the system tend to resist being treated as means. They interact as wholes, bringing to bear their own special problems and purposes. (Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949], p. 251.)

The social origins of persons recruited into occupations and formal organizations are crucial for an understanding of the interplay between person, on the one hand, and occupational and organizational role, on the other. A number of studies concerned with the general problem of intergenerational mobility between broad occupational categories are incidentally related to this problem.[1] A second group of studies focuses on the backgrounds of persons in specific occupations.[2] But their relevance to the problem is limited in two respects:

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[1] See Natalie Rogoff, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953); Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, March, 1952), 366-374, 494-504.

[2] On business leaders see F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932); W. L. Warner and James C. Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956); on journalists see Leo Rosten, The Washington Correspondents (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937); on civil servants see Reinhard Bendix, Higher Civil Servants in American Society: A Study of the Social Origins, the Careers, and the Power-Position of Higher Federal Administrators (University of Colorado Studies, Series in Sociology No. 1; Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1949); on public relations men see Leila A. Sussmann, "The Personnel and Ideology of Public Relations," Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Winter, 1948-49), 697-708; on physicians see Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," American Journal of Sociology, LIII (March, 1948), 327-336, and "Types of Medical Careers," American Journal of Sociology, LV (November, 1949), 243-253.

First, they are not designed to explore the consequences of past and present membership in, or identification with, given social groups or categories for job relevant orientations and behavior. They simply describe the recruitment base of a given occupation or organization and, at the very most, make inferences regarding the effects of the recruitment base on the structure of the occupation or of the organization.

Second, the variables in the recruitment base tend to be restricted to social class background, commonly operationalized by the father's occupation. Other important variables such as sex role, religious preference, and the father's experience in bureaucratic organizations have been largely unexplored.[1]

The objectives in this chapter are to investigate the effects of four background variables--sex role, social class background, religious affiliation, and integration setting--on level of professionalism. Each of these variables represents a set of experiences in the socialization process that vary in the degree to which they are compatible with a professional orientation. The aim of this part of the investigation is to see how these experiences and identifications promote or inhibit the adoption of a professional orientation toward work.

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[1] A few exceptions have come to my attention: Wilensky, op. cit., mentions the religious backgrounds of his Professionals and his Careerists in passing, and, of course, there is the early essay by Merton on the relation of Puritanism to science ("Puritanism, Pietism and Science," Chap. 14 in Social Theory and Social Structure [Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949].

Sex Role

> *Assumption 1*: For the majority of women teachers, married or single, their work roles are secondary to their family roles as sources of personal identity. Even among those not yet married, the majority hope they will marry before long. As a result, women are less involved than men in their work and therefore less committed to professional norms toward work.
>
> *Assumption 2*: Preoccupation with economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position is incompatible with professional norms.
>
> *Assumption 3*: Societal pressures for "success", in terms of economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position, are more demanding for men than they are for women in American society. Men are more upwardly mobile than women in the work setting, hence, less professional.
>
> *Assumption 4*: Autonomy and competence are values in American society that are demanded more of men than they are of women; the role training of men is therefore more congruent than that of women with the professional norms emphasizing autonomy and competence.
>
> *Assumption 5*: Kindness, nurturance, and helping others (the Florence Nightingale model) are qualities expected more of women than of men. The professional service ideal is therefore valued more by women as an extension of their role training than by men.
>
> *Hypothesis 1.1*: Men teachers are more professional than women teachers.
>
> *Corollary 1.1.1*: Single women teachers are more professional than married women teachers.

As indicated in Chapter I, the various components of sex role have contradictory effects on professionalism. To begin with Assumption 1, woman's main role in American society is located not in the occupational structure as gainfully employed worker, but in the kinship structure as wife and mother.[1] This contrasts sharply to men, whose main role is their occupation. The casual question, "What do you do", elicits the answer "doctor", "teacher", or "policeman". The working woman's conflict between family and job, it is assumed, blocks an involvement in her work and interferes with her commitment to the norms surrounding the work situation, including professional norms.

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[1] See Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, VII (October, 1942), 604-610.

On the other hand, men's greater involvement in their occupational roles emphasizes other meanings of occupational position, such as income and prestige. Since men, more than women, are expected to "make good" in their jobs, they tend to emphasize the nonprofessional careerist values of advancement and self-gain (Assumptions 2 and 3). In short, greater involvement in the work role is likely to mean stronger commitment to any of several conflicting meanings of the work situation--professional norms, income, prestige, etc. Its net effect on professionalism is problematic.

Now, for Assumptions 4 and 5. The early role training of the sexes emphasizes autonomy and competence for boys, kindness and nurturance for girls.[1] These patterns present another set of contradictory consequences for professionalism. The general emphasis on autonomy and competence for men ties in with the professional norms that emphasize these values, but the general emphasis on "helping others" for women reinforces the professional service ideal.

Since sex role and professionalism have several components, a judgment of the relative effects of the various components of sex role on professionalism is required to state a testable hypothesis. I assumed that the inhibiting effects on professionalism of women's primary involvement in their family roles (Assumption 1) would be more powerful than the inhibiting effects of men's success striving (Assumptions 2 and 3). Hence, the hypothesis: men teachers are more professional than women teachers. It should be noted, however, that competence and autonomy in Assumption 4, which make men more professional, is represented by three items in the professionalism index, and service in Assumption 5, which makes women more professional, is represented by only one item. This problem of weighting is handled by also comparing men and women on each of the four items separately below.

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[1] Ibid.

What are the findings? Table 2 shows that women are significantly more professional than men among those teachers who are single (P=.02,2-t). The difference is in the same direction among married teachers, but it is smaller and not statistically significant (P=.14,2-t). This relationship

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE[a] HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status		Men	Women	
		P=.02(2-t)		
Single	P=.31(2-t)	33 (44)	55 (93)	P=.50(2-t)
Married		41 (283)	50 (88)	
		P=.14(2-t)		

[a] The figures in parentheses represent the bases on which percentages are computed; e.g., 33 percent of the 44 single men are high professionals, compared with 41 percent of the 283 married men, 55 percent of the 93 single women, and 50 percent of the 88 married women.

The total N varies from table to table because the number of "not ascertained" and miscellaneous responses, which vary from item to item, are not included.

holds up controlling for age, social class background, religious affiliation, advanced training, subject matter, and other variablesrelated to professionalism. Several explanations of this unanticipated finding are suggested by examining each of the assumptions from which the original hypothesis was derived.

1. Evidence is presented later in this chapter supporting the assumption that upward mobility interferes with professionalism, even if it is restricted to mobility within the teaching profession. Those men teachers who would like to be in administrative positions "10 or 15 years from now" are less professionally oriented than those who would like to continue teaching (see Table 10). The assumption that women teachers are less upwardly mobile than men teachers is supported by the finding that only three women indicated that they would like to be in administrative positions, which may reflect a combination of realistic opportunities for women at the high school level and their aspirations.

2. It is possible, though not likely, that women's emphasis on the service item may have a stronger effect on the total professionalism score than men's emphasis on competence and autonomy, represented by a total of three items. Table 43 in Appendix C shows that the difference between men and women on the service item is the largest difference (12 percent), but women also score higher on each of the other three items. These data, therefore, support Assumption 4 but reject Assumption 3.

3. Now for the main assumption concerning the effects of women's involvement in the family role on professionalism (Assumption 1). Although the differences in professionalism between single and married

women teachers in Table 2 are not statistically significant, they are in the expected direction, lending some support to Assumption 1. Compared to the married woman teacher, whose home and family compete with her job, the single woman teacher is free of this conflict. Her job is a more prominent source of identity, a "way of life", than it is for the married teacher; hence, she is more professional.

Following this reasoning, we would expect the single women teachers over 40 to be more professional than the younger teachers. For the younger, single teacher, marriage and a family are still a realistic life goal; teaching is, for her, something temporary until "the right man comes along". Her preoccupation with marrying should inhibit strong involvement in the work role. As she grows older, however, and the probability of marriage decreases, the job becomes more and more a "way of life" and her only source of identity.[1]

One would anticipate a similar trend among married women teachers; a mother and housewife is least involved in her work role when her family role is most demanding. As her family responsibilities decrease she should become more involved in her work role and more professional in her outlook. Professionalism should, therefore, increase with age among single women teachers as the possibility of marriage fades away, and among married women teachers as their family responsibilities decrease.

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[1] R. G. Kuhlen and G. H. Johnson, "Changes in Goals with Increasing Adult Age," Journal of Consulting Psychology, XVI (February, 1952), 1-4, find that in answer to the question, "What would you like to be doing ten years from now?", the proportion of single women teachers who answer "be married" drops sharply after age 30, while the proportion who answer "stay in teaching" rises.

The selective factor of turnover -- the younger group contains a number of low professional teachers who eventually leave teaching -- should further depress the level of professionalism among younger women teachers.

Table 3 shows the opposite: the women teachers under 40 are more professional than the women teachers 40 and over. Thus the largest differences in professionalism occur between men and women teachers under 40 -- when home and family are most salient for women teachers, whether they are married or not. In short, according to this evidence, women teachers are most professional when their family roles, either real or ideal, are most salient.[1]

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE

Age	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
Up to 29	26 (19)	39 (71)	65 (34)	55 (27)
Up to 39	44 (18)	45 (128)	65 (20)	53 (17)
40 and over	14 (7)	39 (84)	40 (39)	44 (44)

Combined chi-square for single versus married women, $P=.54$(2-t)
Combined chi-square for under-40 versus 40-and-over women, $P=.02$(2-t)

---

[1] The salience of the family role is only one of many correlates of the age variable, however. It is possible that something else associated with age, e.g., the effects of the bureaucratic experience, disenchantment, or career stage, accounts for the depression in professionalism after age 40. Table 3, therefore, offers at best a very crude test of the reasoning in the last two paragraphs.

Another approach is to use as a control the orientations of women teachers toward their roles as mothers and housewives in order to clarify the influence of these roles on professionalism. The answers to the following item in the questionnaire provide such a control:

15. Thinking about the present, what things or activities in your life are the most important to you?

(Place a "1" next to the most important activity,
a "2" next to the second most important activity,
and a "3" next to the third most important activity.)

____ (1) My marriage and my family life
____ (2) My work
____ (3) Participating in activities directed toward national betterment
____ (4) My leisure-time activities and hobbies

The purpose of the question is to separate the "work oriented" from the "family oriented". Only the "most important" choices are considered. The number of teachers who checked (3) "national betterment" and (4) "leisure-time activities and hobbies" as most important was too small to include in the analysis.

Table 4 shows the effects on professionalism of demands of the family role, i.e., marital status, and of orientations toward the family role, simultaneously. Among men teachers, those who are both married and work oriented are the most professionally oriented. It appears that the demands of marriage for a stable career, together with an orientation emphasizing their dominant role--work, supports men's commitment to professional norms.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY VERSUS WORK ORIENTATION[a]

Orientation	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
			P=.08(2-t)	
Family	40 (5)	39 (247)	82 (11)	54 (72)
		P=.02 (2-t)	P=.05 (2-t)	P=.09 (2-t)
Work	26 (27)	62 (29)	51 (68)	27 (11)
	P=.01(2-t)		P=.14(2-t)	

Combined chi-square for single versus married women, P=.02(2-t)
Combined chi-square for family versus work-oriented women, P=.01(2-t)

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[a] Based on responses to Question 15 (see Appendix B).

Among women teachers, those who are single are still more professional than those who are married. As to their orientations, it is not surprising that the majority of the single women teachers (68 out of 79) are work oriented and the majority of the married women teachers (72 out of 83) are family oriented. But, among both single and married women teachers, it is the family oriented who are more professional than the work oriented. (Tabulations on each of the four professionalism items separately do not produce any reversals. I expected the married teachers and the family oriented teachers to score unusually high on the service item, but this is not the case.) Unlike the demands of the mother and housewife role, which appear to conflict with professionalism, an orientation that values the mother and housewife role as such appears to support a professional orientation towards teaching. This suggests that the orientations required of women in the teaching role may be an extension of the orientations required by their dominant roles as mothers and housewives, despite obvious conflicts between these roles in terms of time and energy. Perhaps it is the responsibility common to both roles for socializing and training children, or perhaps it is something else. In any case, these data suggest a re-examination of the common assumption that women's family roles simply and necessarily inhibit the development of professionalism on the job--at least among high school teachers. Their relevance for other professional groups is, of course, problematic.

It is important to emphasize that the above findings are restricted to professional orientations. It is possible that in terms of certain behavioral indicators--such as advanced training and participation in professional organizations--men teachers are more professional than women teachers. This is indeed the case (see Table 43 in Appendix C). The apparent contradiction between the above data and accounts that see women as barriers to the full professionalization of an occupation[1] would thus be resolved if professional orientations were distinguished from professional behavior.

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[1] See Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 245-246, and Myron Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956), 241-255. Ward S. Mason, Robert J. Dressel, and Robert K. Bain in "Sex Role and the Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers," Harvard Educational Review, XXIX (Fall, 1959), 370-382, discuss the negative effects on professionalization of women teachers' secondary commitment to their work roles.

A final comment. It is necessary to consider self-selection in examining the differences in professionalism between men and women teachers. Women, as well as men, have several sex role models they can adopt. Some of these models may support professional values, while others may conflict with professional values. It is possible to argue that those women who enter teaching--a "female" occupation--have characteristics which have an independent effect in promoting professionalism. Or, it is possible to argue that it is only through women with these characteristics that the sex-role-linked orientations analyzed above can support professionalism in the teaching situation; in short, it is only in certain kinds of women that a family orientation and professionalism promote each other. Unfortunately, data are not available to evaluate either of these explanations.

Social Class Background

Assumption 1: Teaching is a lower middle class occupation.

Assumption 2: For teachers with working class backgrounds, teaching means a step upward in income and prestige. For teachers with middle and upper class origins, teaching does not mean a step upward; persons with these social origins and with high mobility aspirations are not likely to choose teaching as a career.

Assumption 3: Preoccupation with economic rewards and prestige based on occupational position is incompatible with professional norms.

Hypothesis 1.2: Teachers with working class origins are less professional than teachers with middle and upper class origins.

The typical profile analysis of the public school teacher begins with a statement about his social class background, but this is where most such studies stop. The purpose of this section is to investigate the *effects* of the teacher's social class background on his professional outlook.[1] But first, a brief comment on the over-all distribution of the social class backgrounds of teachers.

Table 5 shows that the majority of the sample (71 percent) come from lower middle and working class backgrounds. This is generally consistent with other research findings, despite variations in the locale and in the measurement of social class background.[2] (For a detailed description of the code for social class background, see Appendix A.)

TABLE 5

SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS

Class	Men	Women	Total
Upper middle	14%	24%	18%
Lower middle	33	39	35
Upper working	31	16	25
Lower working	14	5	11
Not ascertained[a]	8	16	11
Total	100% (340)	100% (205)	100% (545)

[a] Twenty-two of the 27 men teachers and 27 of the 32 women teachers in this group come from families where the father was a farmer.

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[1] Several writers have cited the effects of social class background on role behavior as an important research problem. See Neal Gross, "The Sociology of Education," Chap. 5 in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.) *Sociology Today* (New York: Basic Books, 1959); William Wattenberg *et al.*, "Social Origins and Teaching Role--Some Typical Patterns," Chap. 4 in Lindley J. Stiles (ed.) *The Teacher's Role in American Society* (Fourteenth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957) for a number of case studies.

[2] See the studies cited in Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, *Society and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1957), pp. 359-363.

Compared with the present social class distribution of the metropolitan area of which this suburb is a part, the teachers in my sample are more middle class in background than the population at large (see Table 40 in Appendix C). On the other hand, compared with the sample of men staff experts, my subsample of men teachers is more likely to come from working class backgrounds and less likely to come from upper middle class backgrounds (see Table 52 in Appendix D). Their fathers are also less educated than the fathers of the staff experts (Table 55). There is little difference, however, in their income (Table 54).

Note also in Table 5 that women teachers are more likely to come from middle class backgrounds than are men teachers. This further reduces the number of women with careerist orientations.

Two recent studies indicate an increasing proportion of teachers from working class backgrounds.[1] This trend is also supported by my data (see Table 6). The sharpest decrease is in teachers in the "Not Ascertained" group, of whom the majority (49 out of 59) are from farm backgrounds. This is consistent with the over-all downward trend in the proportion of farmers out of the total labor force.[2] For men, the increase is primarily in the lower working class category, although there is also a slight increase in the lower middle class category; for women, the increase is in the upper working class category, but there is an even larger increase in the upper middle class category.

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[1] William Wattenberg et al., "Social Origins of Teachers--A Northern Industrial City," in Stiles (ed.) *op. cit.*, Chap. 2; Nathan A. Edwards, "Sociology of Teaching: A Study of the Male Classroom Teacher," Ph.D. dissertation (Iowa City: State University of Iowa, 1952).

[2] See U.S. Census material cited in Ronald Freeman *et al.*, *Principles of Sociology* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), pp. 402-403.

TABLE 6

SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND BY TIME OF ENTRY

Class	Men			Women		
	When Entered Teaching			When Entered Teaching		
	Before 1929	1930 - 1941	1942-Present	Before 1929	1930 - 1941	1942 - Present
Upper middle	14%	11%	15%	17%	15%	32%
Lower middle	28	30	35	36	43	38
Upper working	27	35	29	9	19	19
Lower working	3	15	16	5	8	3
Not ascertained	28	9	5	33	15	8
Total	100% (34)	100% (51)	100% (251)	100% (40)	100% (44)	100% (109)

Verification of these trends depends on the relative rates of turnover among teachers with different social class backgrounds. It is possible, for example, that teachers from working class families are more likely to leave teaching than teachers from middle class families. If this were the case, many of the former would be underrepresented in the early periods in Table 6, and this could explain, in part, the trends that appear in that table. Indirect evidence shows that social class background is strongly related to a teacher's *plans* to leave teaching and to move into administrative positions in education (see Table 9). On the other hand, the independently established downward trend of farmers as a proportion of the total labor force minimizes the effect of differential turnover and supports the inferred change in recruitment base.

I turn now to an analysis of the effects of social class background on professionalism. Table 7 shows a positive relationship; the higher the social class background, the more professional. Although the differences are not large, and are statistically significant only for women (P=.13,1-t for men; P=.004,1-t, for women), the relationship is in the predicted direction and is monotonic, except for a reversal between lower middle class and upper working class women.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Class	Men	Women
Upper middle	46 (48)	69 (49)
Lower middle	42 (112)	55 (80)
Upper working	38 (104)	60 (33)
Lower working	36 (49)	0 (11)
	P=.13(1-t) t = .07	P=.004(1-t) t = .22

Two alternative explanations may account for the expected higher level of professionalism among middle class teachers. One explanation is based on the studies that show differences between the values and socialization patterns of middle class and working class families.[1] This explanation assumes, to begin with, discernable differences between the value systems in which middle class and working class children are reared. The middle class emphasis on independence, achievement, and responsibility, it is assumed, predisposes teachers with middle class backgrounds toward adopting a professional orientation toward their work. This explanation thus assumes an affinity between these class-based values and the professional norms that emphasize autonomy and competence. Finally, it assumes that, except for differences in these class-based values, teaching "selects" comparable samples of persons from each of the different social class backgrounds. Any differences in teachers' orientations can thus be ascribed to differences in the socialization experiences characteristic of their social class settings. Table 44 in Appendix C shows a monotonic relationship between social class background and each of the four items--including the service item--in the professionalism index among men. The size of the differences on the competence and autonomy items, however, are no greater than on the service item. The relationships are not as consistent among women.

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[1] Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952), pp.520-31;

An alternative explanation is summarized by the three assumptions leading to Hypothesis 1.2. To begin with, teaching is characterized as a lower middle class occupation.[1] This provides a clue to the different

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Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-rearing," *American Sociological Review*, XI (December, 1946), 698-710; Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class Status and Power* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442.

[1] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: a Popular Evaluation," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-426; "public school teacher" is ranked 36th among 90 occupations, just below "accountant for a large business," "captain in the regular army," and "building contractor,"

meanings assigned to teaching by persons with different social class origins, namely, social mobility. Teachers from working class backgrounds tend to perceive themselves as rising in status (see Table 8). This is not surprising, since it means only that people who are, in fact, moving up are likely to be aware of it. But they are also likely to be mobility oriented. Table 9 shows that the proportion of men teachers who would like to enter school administration in the next "10 or 15 years" rises progressively as we go down the social class ladder. This does not apply to women teachers, who are, in general, less mobility oriented (only three women say they would like to go into administration), and for whom "raising a family" is a frequent response. Table 9 suggests, then, that teaching "selects" different kinds of people from each social stratum. Persons from upper and upper middle class backgrounds *who are also upwardly mobile* are less likely to enter teaching than persons from working class backgrounds who are upwardly mobile. Teaching, for the latter, is a step upward; for the former, it is not.[1]

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and just above "railroad engineer," "farm owner," and "radio announcer." This is reflected in teachers' primary identification with the lower middle class. Table 53 in Appendix D shows that 35 percent and 61 percent of the teachers in my special sample of men teachers between 25 and 39 years of age identify with the upper middle and lower middle class, respectively, compared with 54 percent and 44 percent of the staff experts sample.

[1] These assumptions are corroborated by a study that shows that the prestige assigned to teaching as an occupation by college students is negatively related to their own social class background. See Robert W. Richey, William H. Fox, and Charles E. Fauset, "Prestige Ranks of Teaching," *Occupations*, XXX (1951), 33-35. Another study in which students are asked to rate social work gives similar results. See R. Clyde White, "'Social Workers in Society': Some Further Evidence," *Social Work Journal*, XXXIV (October, 1953), 161-164. These findings suggest that the status level of the occupation sets [illegible] upper limit in the social class from which the occupation recruits its careerists, e.g., careerists among physicians, a high status occupation, will include a greater proportion of persons from middle class backgrounds than careerists among teachers.

TABLE 8

SUBJECTIVE INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY[a] BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Mobility	Men				Women			
	Social Class Background				Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Upward	10%	39%	62%	73%	13%	32%	56%	90%
Stable	71	56	34	27	72	63	44	10
Downward	19	5	4	0	15	5	0	0
Total	100% (48)	100% (112)	100% (104)	100% (49)	100% (48)	100% (78)	100% (32)	100% (10)

[a] See Appendix A for a description of how subjective intergenerational mobility was measured.

TABLE 9

CAREER PLANS[a] BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Career Plans	Men				Women			
	Social Class Background				Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
To leave education for a job in something else	6%	7%	6%	6%	2%	6%	3%	0%
To advance in education .... principal, superintendent, supervisor, coordinator	17	22	30	45	2	2	0	0
To leave teaching, raise a family, then return to teaching	0	0	0	0	35	23	39	18
To leave teaching, raise a family, and not return to teaching	0	0	0	0	20	13	12	9
To stay in teaching	77	71	64	49	41	56	46	73
Total	100% (48)	100% (111)	100% (101)	100% (49)	100% (49)	100% (79)	100% (33)	100% (11)

Among men, the relationship between social class background and whether they would like "to advance in education" or stay in teaching is significant at the .001(1-t) level, t=.20. Women teachers are not compared here because of the small number (3) who said they would like "to advance in education".

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[a] Based on responses to Question 29 (see Appendix B).

According to this line of reasoning, it is the disproportionately large number of low professional careerists among the teachers from working class backgrounds that explains the original relation in Table 7.

Support for this interpretation for men teachers is offered by Table 10, where career plans are tabulated against professionalism, controlling for social class background. It shows that:

1. Except for the upper middle class (where there are only eight advancement oriented teachers), the advancement oriented are less professional in each of the social class groups (the combined chi-square yields a P=.10,1-t).

2. There is almost no variation in professionalism between the advancement oriented from one social class group to another (46, 53, 46, and 42 percent) and, except for the upper middle class, little variation between the nonadvancement oriented.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND AND CAREER PLANS

Career Plans	Men[a]			
	Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
To advance in education	62 (8)	37 (24)	27 (30)	32 (22)
To stay in teaching	46 (37)	43 (79)	46 (65)	42 (24)

Combined chi-square of "advance" versus "stay", P=.10(1-t)

[a] Women teachers are not included in this table because of the small number who said they would like "to advance in education".

Controlling for religion, Table 13 in the next section indicates that among men the relationship between social class and professionalism holds only for Catholics. Since Catholic teachers tend to be more upwardly mobile than Protestant teachers (Table 14), it is possible that the differences in professionalism according to career plans are accentuated in the working class Catholic category. Table 15 indicates that this is the case. But, although the most prominent difference in professionalism is in the working class, Catholic category--only 12 percent of the advancement oriented among them are professional, the nonadvancement oriented are more professional in three of the four comparisons. The one exception is in the middle class, Catholic category, where there are only eight advancement oriented teachers.

Although the P values of differences in the foregoing analysis are not always statistically significant, the total weight of the evidence supports the interpretation that, among men teachers, it is social mobility, represented by the disproportionately large number of careerists from working class backgrounds, that accounts for the effects of social class background on professionalism, not differences in the class value systems. I do not have data to support this interpretation for women teachers, but, in view of the relative absence of careerism among women teachers, its effect on professionalism should be negligible. It is, of course, possible that the class value interpretation applies to women teachers, but not to men teachers.[1]

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[1] Note that the relationship between social class background and professionalism is reversed among men teaching nonacademic subjects (Table 20) and those who have only Bachelor's degrees (Table 49), suggesting that the prestige value of academic subjects and of advanced training attractsaa disproportionate number of upwardly mobile teachers from working class backgrounds.

Religion

> *Assumption 1*: The Protestant Ethic is an historical antecedent of the rise of capitalism, science, bureaucracy, and professionalism. In contemporary society the Protestant Ethic supports each of the corresponding value systems. The common theme is *rationality* and its derivatives--autonomy, technical efficiency (competence), objectivity, and impartiality.
>
> *Assumption 2*: Protestants are more likely to subscribe to the tenets of the Protestant Ethic than Catholics.
>
> > *Hypothesis 1.3*: Protestant teachers are more professional than Catholic teachers.
>
> *Assumption 3*: The stronger a person's commitment to the values of his religious group, the stronger will be the effects of these values on his nonreligious values and behavior.
>
> *Assumption 4*: Frequency of attendance at religious services is an indicator of religious commitment.
>
> > *Corollary 1.3*: The predicted difference in professionalism between Protestant teachers and Catholic teachers is greater among those who attend church frequently than among those who do not attend church frequently.

Assumption 1 states that ascetic Protestantism,[1] capitalism, science, bureaucracy, and professionalism are historically and conceptually interrelated. The role of Protestantism as a major historical antecedent (but not necessarily a "cause") of the rise of the spirit of capitalism is analyzed by Weber in his classical study on the subject.[2] A comparable study by Merton demonstrates the affinity between Protestantism (specifically, Puritanism and Pietism) and science,[3] and in another article,

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[1] Weber distinguishes between the ascetic and nonascetic branches of Protestantism; it is the former (Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and certain sects growing out of the Baptist movement) that are characterized by the Protestant Ethic. I have not made this distinction in the analysis that follows; Protestant Ethic and Protestantism are used interchangeably.

[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

[3] Merton, *op*. *cit*., chap. 14.

Merton shows the relationship between the growth of science and capitalistic enterprise in seventeenth century England.[1] In a current study of young nuclear scientists, Wilensky investigates the impact of social background, including religious affiliation, on role orientations.

The second part of this assumption states that the rise of the professions and professionalism, promoted by the growth of capitalism, science, and bureaucracy,[2] has something in common with these trends. They emphasize the *rationalization* of human activity, individual autonomy, technical efficiency, objectivity, and impartiality.

From these assumptions is derived the hypothesis that Protestantism, generally accepted as an historical antecedent of capitalism, bureaucracy, and science, is also having residual effects in promoting and sustaining a "spirit of professionalism" in contemporary society. In short, this hypothesis tests the contemporary influence of Protestantism. The Protestant and Catholic belief systems, it is assumed, represent "directives"[3] that exert powerful influences on orientations and performance.

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[1] *Ibid*., chap. 15.

[2] Although the demands of bureaucracy and professionalism are conventionally thought to be conflicting, they feed on each other in several ways: both insist on impersonality, recruitment and promotion on the basis of technical qualifications, and a clear delineation of roles. See Wilensky and Lebeaux, *op*. *cit*., pp. 245-246, 286.

[3] The term "directives" is used by Sebastian de Grazia to denote mores internalized in early childhood and thus exerting powerful influences upon behavior. See *The Political Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 49, cited in Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (June, 1956), 295-300. Mack, Murphy, and Yellin show that Protestants are no more upwardly mobile, in fact or in orientation, than Catholics in American society. They interpret this as evidence that the Protestant Ethic has no consequence for role orientations or performance in *contemporary* society, while they accept its historical role as an antecedent of the rise of the spirit of capitalism. Social mobility aspirations, which express a concern with "consumption" (or standard of living) and status, must not be confused with the "spirit of capitalism", which emphasizes production, thrift,

Table 11 shows that Protestants are indeed more professional than Catholics among both men and women teachers, but the difference is statistically significant only among women teachers. The greater impact of religious affiliation on professionalism among women teachers (a 25 percent difference for women, compared with an 8 percent difference for men) may indicate that women in our society take their religion more seriously than men. Although the proportion of the Protestants who attend church weekly among the men is about the same as it is among the women, data from a study of the general population in the area indicate that, except for Jews, women attend services more frequently than men.[1] In my sample, this difference applies only to Catholics.

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self-denial, and accumulation for their own sake. These two sets of orientations conflict, and it is the latter, according to Weber, to which Protestantism is historically related. Table 14 shows, in fact, that Catholics are more upwardly mobile than Protestants in the study sample. The data presented by Mack _et al_., are not, therefore, a valid test of the contemporary affinity between Protestantism and capitalism. For data that support such an affinity see Orvis Collins, Melville Dalton, and Donald Roy, "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry," _Applied Anthropology_, V (Summer, 1946), 1-31. Lenski also finds that middle class Protestants are more likely than middle class Catholics to "value work for its own sake" (Gerhard Lenski, _The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life_ (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1961), pp. 82-87.

[1] Harold L. Orbach ("Aging and Religion: Church Attendance in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," in press). Compare also the proportions of men and women in my sample who profess no religious preference (25/340 for men, 3/205 for women).

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY RELIGION

Religion	Men	Women
Protestant	38 (233)	57 (165)
Catholic	31 (74)	32 (31)
	P=.14(1-t)	P=.005(1-t)

Turning now to the "intensifying" effect of frequency of church attendance on the relationship between religious affiliation and professionalism, stated in Corollary 1.3, it is argued that the greater the commitment to given values, the stronger will be the effects of these values on nonreligious behavior, in this case,professionalism. Table 12 shows that the predicted difference in professionalism between Protestants and Catholics is increased among those who attend church weekly, but only among men. A 7 percent difference between all men Protestants and Catholics, in Table 11, compares with a 17 percent difference (significant at the .02 level, 1-t) between men Protestants and Catholics who attend church every week, in Table 12.[1] Regular church attendance does not appear to have such an effect on women teachers, suggesting that church attendance is a more valid indicator of religiosity among men than among women, to whom it may have other meanings. It can also be argued that since women may be more religious than men to begin with, then church attendance has less of a chance to operate as an intensifying characteristic.

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[1] Table 12 also shows that, among men, not only is the difference in professionalism between Protestants and Catholics who attend church less than once a week reduced, but is reversed. Although the difference is not statistically significant (P=.60,2-t), the following explanation is offered: frequency of church attendance means different things to Catholics and Protestants. Since weekly attendance at mass is prescribed, the Catholic who does not attend services regularly is more deviant than the Protestant who does not attend services regularly. Compare the proportions of Catholics and Protestants who do not attend church weekly: 22 percent (16/74) and 56 percent (131/233), respectively. It can be

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY RELIGION AND FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Frequency of Church Attendance	Men		Women	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
	P=.02(1-t)		P=.01(1-t)	
Attend church weekly	45 (102)	28 (58)	54 (71)	30 (30)
	P=.60(2-t)			
Attend church less often	37 (131)	44 (16)	59 (94)	0 (1)

Controlling for social class background (teachers from working class backgrounds are more likely to be Catholic than teachers from middle class backgrounds) does not produce any significant reversals (see Table 13). Adding chi-squares yields P=.07(1-t) for men and P=.03(1-t) for women. Among men teachers, however, it appears that religious affiliation makes a difference only for those from working class backgrounds. Suspecting that mobility may be disproportionately concentrated among working class Catholics (and Table 14 bears this out), career plans are added as a control in Table 15. Only 12 percent of the advancement oriented, working class Catholics

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argued that the Catholic who does not attend church regularly is more "protestant" (small p) and autonomous in his thinking than the Protestant who does not attend church regularly. It may be this quality that explains the unexpectedly high level of professionalism among the former.

are professional, which accounts for some of the difference between Protestants and Catholics among working class men. Differences between Protestants and Catholics within each of the social class-career plan categories indicate, however, that the former continue to be more professional in three out of four comparisons. The exception is among the advancement oriented, middle class group, where there are only eight Catholics.

TABLE 13.

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL
BY RELIGION AND SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Class	Men		Women	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
Upper middle	44 (39)	50 (4)	70 (40)	72 (7)
Lower middle	40 (75)	38 (26)	58 (66)	40 (10)
Upper working	43 (68)	20 (25)	73 (26)	14 (7)
Lower working	41 (32)	29 (17)	0 (7)	0 (4)
Combined chi-square	P=.07(1-t)		P=.03(1-t)	

TABLE 14

CAREER PLANS BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND AND RELIGION

Career Plans	Men[a]			
	Middle Class		Working Class	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
To advance in education	22%	30%	35%	45%
To stay in teaching	78	70	65	55
Total	100% (106)	100% (27)	100% (92)	100% (38)

[a] Women teachers are not included in this table because of the small number who said they would like "to advance in education".

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL
BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND, RELIGION, AND CAREER PLANS

Career Plans	Men[a]			
	Middle Class		Working Class	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
To advance in education	39 (23)	50 (8)	41 (32)	12 (17)
To stay in teaching	45 (83)	32 (19)	45 (60)	38 (21)

[a] Women teachers are not included in this table because of the small number who said they would like "to advance in education".

Another Explanation of the Effects of Religious Affiliation on Professionalism. The differences in professionalism levels between Protestants and Catholics that remain after controlling for social class background and career plans may be explained by the assumptions at the beginning of this section. But there is another explanation for these findings. One may argue that these value systems may be accepted as historical antecedents to the rise of capitalism, bureaucracy, and professionalism, but that their effects on contemporary social life are too tenuous to make a difference. Perhaps the relationship between religious affiliation and professionalism can be more plausibly explained in terms of the Durkheimian idea that Catholics are more closely integrated as a group than Protestants.[1] Professionalism, according to this argument, provides a source of integration that may be viewed as functionally equivalent to integration around a religious group, and since Protestants are less integrated than Catholics, they are more likely to espouse professionalism as a substitute. In short, the dimension that actually underlies the Catholic-Protestant distinction, according to this argument, is not a set of "directives", or value systems (Weber), but social integration (Durkheim), and it is the latter which explains why Protestants are more professional than Catholics. The data in Table 12 provide a test for choosing between these two explanations.

The religion-church attendance subgroups are ranked, first, according to their degree of social integration, and, second, according to the affinity of their value systems to professionalism. The following subgroups are ranked: the active Catholics, the active and inactive Protestants, and the Unaffiliated. The inactive Catholics are not ranked here because of their small number.

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[1] Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 152-170.

Ordering them according to social integration, the active Catholics are most integrated, the active Protestants second, and the inactive Protestants third. The Unaffiliated, with no church ties, are the least integrated. Ordering them according to the affinity of their value systems to professionalism, the active Catholics are least sympathetic to professionalism, the inactive Protestants next, and the active Protestants are most congenial. The Unaffiliated are not ranked this time because they have no church-based value system.

Since professionalism varies negatively with social integration, and positively, of course, with affinity of value system to professionalism, the more orderly progression of level of professionalism in the two rankings, from left to right in Chart 4 below, supports that particular explanation.

Social Integration:	High			Low
	Active Catholics	Active Protestants	Inactive Protestants	Unaffiliated
Men	28% (58)	43% (102)	37% (131)	[illegible] (25)
Women	30% (30)	54% (71)	39% (94)	1/3

Affinity of Value System to Professionalism:	Low		High
	Active Catholics	Inactive Protestants	Active Protestants
Men	28% (58)	37% (131)	43% (102)
Women	30% (30)	39% (94)	54% (71)

Chart 4. Comparison of social integration and religious values as determinants of professionalism

The results are not the same for men and women teachers. For the men teachers, the value system explanation yields a slightly more orderly progression than the social integration explanation (28, 37, 45 percent, compared with 28, 45, 37, 56 percent).[1] The corresponding t_c's are +.13 and -.08, respectively.[2] For the women teachers it is the opposite: the social integration progression is more orderly (30, 54, 59 percent, compared with 30, 59, 54 percent). The corresponding t_c's are -.17 and +.10, respectively.

Integration Setting

Assumption 1: The themes stressed in an entrepreneurial home--rationality, self-control, self-reliance and an "active, manipulative stance toward the environment"--are more congruent with the professional norms of autonomy and competence than the themes stressed in a welfare bureaucratic home--accommodation and a spontaneous expression of emotions.

Assumption 2: The themes stressed in a welfare bureaucratic home are more congruent with the professional norm of service than the themes stressed in an entrepreneurial home.

Hypothesis 1.4: Teachers with entrepreneurial family origins are more professional than teachers with welfare bureaucratic family origins.

In a recent study Miller and Swanson[3] investigate the effects of certain organisational experiences of parents (the term they use is

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[1] Note that the Unaffiliated are the most professional group of all among men. But they are not "missionary-type" professionals; their emphasis on service is no greater than their emphasis on the other components of professionalism. Wilensky reports that of his 25 staff experts who checked "None" on religion, 22 are past Missionaries, suggesting that the Missionary service ideal is a substitute for religion (Wilensky, *op. cit.*, p. 147).

[2] Actually, Table 45 in Appendix C shows that this pattern does not hold for the item on autonomy, where I expected it to be strongest. Among men, in fact, there is little variation on this item by religion and church attendance.

[3] Miller and Swanson, *op. cit.*

"integration setting") on patterns of child rearing. They describe two types: the entrepreneurial and the welfare bureaucratic. They find that in an entrepreneurial home--where the father spends most of his work life in a small organization with a simple division of labor and a small capitalization, and which provides for mobility and income through risk taking and competence--children are encouraged "to be highly rational, to exercise great self-control, to be self-reliant, and to assume an active, manipulative stance toward their environment." In a welfare bureaucratic home--where the father spends most of his work life in a large organization employing many different kinds of specialists, with a large capitalization, where mobility comes through specialized training and incomes are in the form of wages and salary, and where the organization offers jobs security despite the business cycle--children are encouraged "to be accommodative, to allow their impulses some spontaneous expression, and to seek direction from the organizational programs in which they participate."

The authors explain this relationship between integration setting and child rearing by noting that parents' experiences in entrepreneurial situations demand an orientation emphasizing rationality, self-control, and an independent and active manipulation of the environment; it is these values that they transmit, consciously or unconsciously, to their children. Conversely, parents' experience in welfare bureaucratic situations, which emphasize security and group support and responsibility, allow spontaneity and demand accommodation.

The two types of integration setting do not represent coexisting forms of social organization frozen in time. The authors see ongoing change in the social structure of American society, from predominantly entrepreneurial to predominantly welfare bureaucratic. They cite a number of trends that underlie this process: the growth in the size of economic organizations, the growth of specialization in organizations, the increase in the real incomes of the population, and the increasing power of the lower middle and lower class workers through unionization. They go on to speculate upon the consequences of these trends for American personality patterns, via child-rearing practices.

My objective here is to test the effects of the values generated by the two types of integration setting on professionalism. I am predicting from the integration setting of the parents of the teachers in my sample to the level of professionalism of these teachers. This makes child rearing an intervening variable. Thus,

Integration Setting in which Teachers were Raised	Values Emphasized in Child Rearing of Teachers	Level of Professionalism of Teachers
Entrepreneurial →	Rationality, Self-control, Self-reliance, Active manipulation of environment →	High on autonomy and competence Low on service
Bureaucratic →	Accommodation, Spontaneity →	High on service Low on autonomy and competence

Assumptions 1 and 2 state that entrepreneurial values support the professional norms of autonomy and competence, measured by three items, while the welfare bureaucratic values support the service ideal, measured by only one item. The net effect, it is assumed, is to make entrepreneurials more professional. Assumptions 1 and 2 are also tested separately.

My classification of families as entrepreneurial or bureaucratic is based on the same criteria used by Miller and Swanson, with one exception. Since I had no information about whether the respondent's father was born on a farm, I could not use this as an indicator of an entrepreneurial setting. This is not serious, however, since I suspect that a good number of those fathers who were born on a farm were classified as farmers, and therefore self-employed, or met other criteria which made them entrepreneurial. In any case, this works against my hypothesis since it means that some families where the father was born on a farm were "erroneously" classified as bureaucratic.

It was assumed that families with any of the following characteristics are subject to risk-taking experiences and were therefore classified as entrepreneurial:

1. if the father was self-employed (Question 50);
2. if the father gained at least half of his income in the form of profits, fees, or commissions (Question 65);
3. if the father worked in an organization having only two levels of supervision, i.e., a small organization (Questions 51 to 56);
4. if either the father or the mother was born outside the United States (Questions 66 to 67).

The fourth characteristic appears less defensible as an indicator of an entrepreneurial family than the first three indicators. Miller and Swanson argue that the foreign birth of either parent represents a set of entrepreneurial experiences because the social structures of the European countries from which the majority of the foreign-born parents come are considerably less welfare bureaucratic than is the social structure of the United States.[1] Furthermore, had I eliminated this character-

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c [1] Miller and Swanson, op. cit., pp. 71-74.

istic as a criterion for classifying families as entrepreneurial, very few of the working class families in my sample would have been classified as entrepreneurial. Since I thought it important to be able to compare entrepreneurials and bureaucratics at each of the four social class levels, I included, following Miller and Swanson, foreign birth of either parent as an entrepreneurial characteristic. At a lower conceptual level, this means that, among teachers from middle class backgrounds, I am testing the effects of self-employment, employment in a small organization, and considerable income from profits, fees, or commissions, whereas, among teachers from working class backgrounds, I am testing the effects of foreign birth of parents.

Table 16 shows that the difference between entrepreneurials and bureaucratics among men teachers is in the expected direction, but it is small (5 percent) and not statistically significant. Among women teachers, the difference is in the opposite direction: bureaucratics are more professional than entrepreneurials, but not statistically significant.

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY INTEGRATION SETTING

Setting	Men	Women
Entrepreneurial	42 (185)	49 (132)
Bureaucratic	37 (147)	59 (64)
	P=.18(1-t)	P=.15(2-t)

Reflection on the values generated by entrepreneurial experiences shows that they are very similar to the values of the Protestant Ethic. It is appropriate, therefore, to control for religious preference in order to separate the effects of religious affiliation and integration setting on professionalism.[1] Table 17 controls simultaneously for social class background, religious affiliation, and integration setting.

Among men teachers, the combined chi-square yields a nonsignificant P=.16,1-t. The only sizable reversal is found in the lower middle class Protestant group. Among women teachers, the combined chi-square is now in the expected direction, but far from significant (P=.43,1-t).[2]

What are the effects of integration setting on each of the components of professionalism? Table 47 in Appendix C shows that, among men teachers, each of the differences is in the predicted direction, that is, entrepreneurials emphasize autonomy and competence and bureaucratics emphasize service, but none is statistically significant at the .05 level. Among women teachers, however, bureaucratics emphasize each of the components of professionalism more than do the entrepreneurials, although only one of the differences is significant.

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[1] I expected entrepreneurials to be overrepresented among the Protestants. Table 46 in Appendix C shows the opposite: Catholic teachers are more likely to come from entrepreneurial families than Protestant teachers. In the working classes this may reflect Catholic immigration at the beginning of the century (compare the bases in Table 17). This does not agree with Miller and Swanson (op. cit., p. 80), who find a concentration of Protestant entrepreneurials in the working classes.

[2] The combined chi-square for women is in the expected direction only because of the exclusion of the "Not ascertained" social class group, which is made up almost wholly of teachers from entrepreneurial farm backgrounds. Only 36 percent of the women in this group score as high professionals.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY INTEGRATION SETTING, SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND, AND RELIGION

Class and Religion	Men		Women	
	Entrepreneurial	Bureaucratic	Entrepreneurial	Bureaucratic
Upper middle				
Protestant	55 (20)	31 (19)	65 (23)	71 (14)
Catholic	100 (1)	33 (3)	75 (4)	50 (2)
Lower middle				
Protestant	33 (36)	48 (35)	58 (38)	52 (25)
Catholic	39 (18)	38 (8)	17 (6)	75 (4)
Upper working				
Protestant	52 (29)	37 (38)	81 (11)	62 (15)
Catholic	25 (16)	12 (8)	17 (6)	0 (1)
Lower working				
Protestant	45 (11)	38 (16)	0 (5)	0 (2)
Catholic	42 (12)	0 (4)	0 (4)	... (0)
Combined chi-square--Entrepreneurials vs. Bureaucratics	P=.16(1-t)		P=.45(1-t)	

To summarize: all I can say about the effects of integration setting on professionalism is that my data for men point in the right direction, but the relationship is weak and not statistically significant. If we keep in mind that I am predicting from integration setting to child rearing to professionalism, it is remarkable that I get any relationship at all. The data for women teachers are less clear. It is possible that integration setting has less effect on the training of female children than of male children, since it is the job setting of the father that distinguishes entrepreneurial from bureaucratic families. These job experiences are more relevant to the socialization of the male child, whose main adult role is that of jobholder, than to the socialization of the female child, whose main adult role is that of wife and mother.

Summary

The unexpected finding in this chapter is that women teachers are more professionally oriented than men teachers. This was explained by suggesting that women's dominant roles as mothers and housewives, rather than conflicting with professionalism, actually reinforce it.

The effects of social class background on professionalism among men were explained in terms of the disproportionate number of upwardly mobile, hence unprofessionally oriented, teachers from working class backgrounds recruited into teaching. Further analysis indicates that this is due to the especially low professionalism among working class, upwardly mobile Catholics. The examination of social class background, career plans, and religion simultaneously shows that both career plans and religion (Protestants are more professional) are related to professionalism among men. Upward mobility does not differentiate women--only three say they would like "to advance in education"--but middle class and Protestant backgrounds also support their professionalism. In view of the absence of upward mobility among women teachers, differences in social class values, rather than upward mobility, may account for their class differences in professionalism.

Reversals in the relationship between social class background and professionalism among men teaching nonacademic subjects and those who have only Bachelor's degrees also suggest the intrusion of upward mobility. It is possible that the prestige value of academic subjects and of advanced training attracts a disproportionate number of upwardly mobile teachers from working class backgrounds.

Finally, the data on the effects of integration setting on professionalism give only weak and statistically nonsignificant support to the hypothesis for men. The data for women are not clear, and even the direction of the relationship depends on the controls used.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK CONTEXT AND PROFESSIONALISM

Chapter III dealt with the effects of early socialization on professionalism. The present chapter examines the effects on professionalism of a number of variables directly linked to the work situation. They are:

1. Differentiation of teaching roles; teachers of academic subjects are compared with teachers of nonacademic subjects.
2. Working climate of the school to which the teacher is assigned.
3. Professional training.
4. Professional activities; amount of participation in professional organizations, and type of organization to which the teacher belongs (the National Education Association or the American Federation of Teachers).
5. Informal colleague relations.

The Problem of Cause and Effect. The relationships between each of these variables and professionalism are examined in two ways: first, groups of teachers are differentiated according to each of the variables and then compared on their present level of professionalism; second, in the same table, these same groups of teachers are compared on their NIP measures (Net Increase in Professionalism, described in Chapter II). These two measures, the static and the dynamic, represent alternative strategies for studying the same set of relations. Although the two measures are not independent because they are based on the same set of responses, agreement between them provides an additional check.

The dynamic measure, i.e., NIP, is especially appropriate for this part of the analysis because it controls, ideally, for the influence of pre-job variables on professionalism. It is thus more sensitive than present professionalism to changes in professionalism resulting from work experiences.

NIP serves another purpose here. There is no difficulty in identifying the independent variable between sex role, social class background, religious preference, and integration setting, on the one hand, and professionalism, on the other. Clearly, level of professionalism is the dependent variable. In this chapter, however, the independent variable cannot be identified logically. A reciprocal relationship may be argued for each case. For example, it may be the teachers who are more professional, to begin with, who select academic subjects, take advanced training, and participate in professional organizations. The simultaneous use of three measures--past professionalism, present professionalism, and NIP--tests the interpretation that one flow of influence (but not necessarily the only one) is from each of these variables to professionalism. My rationale is clarified by my interpretation of Table 18 which relates subject matter field and professionalism. It will not be necessary to repeat the argument in detail for each of the other tables in this chapter where it applies.

Role Differentiation

> Assumption 1: Professionalism varies positively with the level of intellectual skills and specialized training required by the role.
>
> Assumption 2: Academic subjects require a higher level of intellectual skills and specialized training than do nonacademic subjects.

Hypothesis 2.1: Teachers of academic subjects are more professional than teachers of nonacademic subjects.

Much can be learned about a profession by studying the specialized subgroups which make it up. Compare, for example, two specialists in medicine, the surgeon and the anesthesiologist, with regard to professional leadership, status and deference within and without the profession, relations with neighboring work roles (e.g. the nurse), and amount and form of income.[1]

One obvious basis for specialization among secondary school teachers is according to subject matter taught, classified as academic or nonacademic. Under academic subjects are included the traditional intellectual subjects: mathematics, sciences, social studies, English, foreign languages, art and music; under nonacademic subjects, the recent and less intellectual additions to the secondary school curriculum labeled vocational courses (business education and industrial arts) and others labeled life adjustment courses (physical education, driver training, and home economics).[2] The question posed here is: does the role that requires teaching academic subjects make a teacher more professional in outlook than the role that requires teaching nonacademic subjects?

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[1] Harvey L. Smith, "Contingencies of Professional Differentiation," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (January, 1958), 410-414. An analysis of the social work field reveals sharp differences between the specialties. Compare, for example, public assistance workers with psychiatric social workers with regard to professionalization (Wilensky and Lebeaux, op. cit., pp. 291-298).

[2] Teachers whose major subject field is special education, speech correction, or guidance (N=46) are not included in this part of the analysis. For one thing, they are not, strictly speaking, "classroom teachers" and, more important, it is difficult to classify their areas as academic or nonacademic.

Among the properties of professionalism described in Chapter I are a task that emphasizes intellectual skills and requires specialized training. It was also pointed out that these and other criteria of professionalism permit the ranking of occupations according to the degree of professionalism. Assumption 2 and Hypothesis 2.1 go one step further and rank two differentiated roles within the teaching profession according to the degree to which they require intellectual skills and specialized training. Surely, if academic subjects require more intellectual skills and training than nonacademic subjects, then academic teachers should be more professional in outlook than nonacademic teachers. The hypothesis is supported for men teachers (see Table 18).

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PAST AND PRESENT, AND PERCENTAGE NIP BY SUBJECT MATTER FIELD

	Men				Women			
Field	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N
Academic	33	43	+23	209	45	54	+25	116
Non-academic	33	35	+ 4	104	39	46	+20	70
	P=1.00 (2-t)	P=.08 (1-t)	P=.04 (1-t) t=.10		P=.43 (2-t)	P=.14 (1-t)	P=.31 (1-t) t=.04	

Academic teachers are more professional than nonacademic teachers according to both their present professionalism and to their NIP scores, although only men's NIP is statistically significant. The differences for women teachers are in the expected direction, but they are not as large and they are not statistically significant (P=.14,1-t, and P=.31,1-t, respectively).

It can be argued that teaching academic subjects has less influence in shaping a professional orientation among men teachers than it does in attracting teachers who are more professionally oriented to begin with. In short, professionalism, not subject-matter role, may be the independent variable. The data in Table 18 permit me to reject this interpretation.

If academic subjects attracted the more professional teachers, this difference would be seen in the level of professionalism of academic and nonacademic teachers when they entered teaching (see the past professionalism column in Table 18). There is no such difference among men; women teachers show a small difference, but it is not statistically significant. In short, it appears that the academic teaching role has a greater effect in shaping the orientations of teachers, i.e., in promoting professionalism, than in attracting teachers who are initially more professional. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that both processes operate simultaneously. The absence of significant differences between the past professionalism scores may be due to their inability to discriminate actual differences because of recall limitations.

It is moreover possible that the selection of subject matter field is related to certain background characteristics promoting professionalism without producing differences in past professionalism between subject matter categories. Social class background is an example. Assuming that the style of life and the intellectual skills that characterize family life in various social class settings affect choices both between broad occupational groups and between specialties within an occupational group,[1] then teachers from middle class backgrounds (whose fathers' occupations emphasize conceptual skills) are more likely to choose academic subjects than teachers from working class backgrounds (whose fathers' occupations emphasize manual skills). The latter are more likely to choose subjects that emphasize manual and physical skills, e.g., physical education, industrial arts, and driver training.[2] Table 19 confirms this expectation. There is only one sizable reversal, which is found between the upper working class and lower working class women teachers (the latter group, however, contains only 11 cases).

TABLE 19

SUBJECT MATTER FIELD BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Field	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Academic	82%	77%	57%	59%	70%	58%	53%	64%
Non-academic	18	23	43	41	30	42	47	36
Total	100% (45)	100% (103)	100% (91)	100% (47)	100% (44)	100% (71)	100% (30)	100% (11)

Controlling now for social class background, Table 20 shows that the relationship between subject matter field and professionalism generally holds. The reversals, that is, where academic teachers are less professional than nonacademic teachers, occur among working class teachers, suggesting a second interpretation of how social class background impinges on choice of subject matter field.

---

[1] The label "secondary occupation choice" is suggested by Kurt W. Back et al., ("Public Health as a Career in Medicine," American Sociological Review, XXIII [October, 1958], 533-541) to refer to the crystallization of choice within a larger occupational family.

[2] See Wattenberg et al., "Social Origins of Teachers--a Northern Industrial City," in Stiles, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PRESENT, BY SUBJECT MATTER FIELD AND SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Field	Men				Women			
	Social Class Background				Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Academic	49 (37)	33 (79)	42 (52)	32 (28)	74 (31)	54 (41)	62 (16)	0 (7)
Non-academic	50 (8)	25 (24)	36 (39)	42 (19)	46 (13)	53 (30)	57 (14)	0 (4)
NIP BY SUBJECT MATTER FIELD AND SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND								
Academic	+27 (37)	+29 (79)	+23 (52)	0 (28)	+26 (31)	+37 (41)	-12 (16)	+28 (7)
Non-academic	+12 (8)	-12 (24)	+ 3 (39)	+21 (19)	0 (13)	+13 (30)	+21 (14)	+75 (4)

In Chapter III it was shown that teaching attracts a greater proportion of upwardly mobile persons from the working classes than from the middle classes. If we now assume that, within teaching, academic subjects command more prestige than nonacademic subjects, it is also possible that upwardly mobile teachers are more likely than nonupwardly mobile teachers to choose an academic subject matter field because of its prestige value. Table 21 supports both explanationsof the impact of social class background on choice of field among men teachers.[1] The steady progression in the proportion of academic teachers from each social class background supports the transferability of life style interpretation. On the other hand, the greater proportion of academic teachers among the upwardly mobile in three out of four social class groups, especially in the lower working class category, supports the mobility interpretation. To summarize: among middle class academic teachers, it is their life styles that predispose the majority to choose academic subjects. Among lower working class academic teachers, upward mobility also appears to be a factor in making this choice.[2]

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE ACADEMIC SUBJECT MATTER FIELD BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND AND CAREER PLANS

Career Plans	Men[a]			
	Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
To advance in education	87 (8)	82 (22)	56 (25)	67 (21)
To stay in teaching	80 (36)	75 (73)	61 (57)	52 (23)

[a] Women teachers are not included in this table because of the small number who said they would like "to advance in education".

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[1] This analysis cannot be applied to women, because only three women checked they would like to go into administration.

[2] Still a third explanation of the higher level of professionalism of

The concentration of upwardly mobile teachers among men in the academic lower working class group does not, however, account for the reversal in professionalism between academic and nonacademic teachers in this social class group in Table 20. Twenty-nine percent of the upwardly mobile and 33 percent of the nonupwardly mobile teachers in this group are professionally oriented; their NIP scores are +21 percent and +25 percent, respectively. Fifty-four percent of the nonacademic, non-upwardly mobile cell is professional, however; its NIP is +45 percent.

Organizational Climate

Hypothesis 2.2.1: The more professional the working climate of the school, the higher the level of professionalism in its teachers.

Assumption 1: The more professional the working climate of the school, the higher the level of professionalism in its teachers.

Assumption 2: The working problems of schools in low social-economic areas, specifically, student discipline and motivation and parent apathy, inhibit the growth of a professional working climate.

Hypothesis 2.2.2: Teachers in schools in low social-economic areas are less professional than *teachers* in schools in middle and high social-economic areas.

I have analyzed the effects of differentiated teaching *roles* on professionalism. I now turn to the individual organizational unit and assess the effects of two organizational variables on professionalism:

---

academic men teachers is in terms of their clientele. Nonacademic subjects attract a higher proportion of students from working class backgrounds than academic subjects. Since the social-economic level of the students and the professionalism level of the men teachers are positively correlated (see pages 102-104), the greater proportion of working class children in nonacademic classes may further inhibit the development of a professional orientation in nonacademic men teachers.

first, the professional working climate of the school and, second, the social-economic level of its students. The seven junior high schools in the sample are ranked according to the following characteristics:

1. An index of professional working climate was computed for each school by averaging the scores of its teachers' responses to the following items:

> "Question 9c. Finally, how satisfied are you with these things? Please check off each of the same items according to how satisfied you are with these things in your present job as a teacher. [(1) Very satisfied, (3) Fairly satisfied, (5) Not too satisfied.]
>
> 1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent.
>
> 2. Doing work my colleagues respect.
>
> 3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done.
>
> 4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society."

The items, it will be noted, are the same as the four items used to compute the professionalism index. I assumed that this index reflects a set of objective conditions; that a school ranked high on this index does, in fact, have a more professional working climate than a school ranked low.

I also assumed that contamination between this index and the index of professionalism is negligible. This assumption is vulnerable since the major items used to construct these indices (Items 9A, 9B, and 9C) appear consecutively in the questionnaire and have similar formats. If there is contamination, however, it will tend to work against my hypothesis. Those teachers who value certain job conditions are less likely to be satisfied with these conditions in their work situations than those teachers who do not value these job conditions, it was assumed.

2. The median income of the census tract[1] in which the school is located. It is assumed that the seven junior high schools (several also include elementary grades) draw the majority of their students from the immediately surrounding area. Since this is less true of the four senior high schools, they were eliminated from this part of the analysis. The closer correspondence between median income of census tract and social-economic level of the students in the junior high schools more than compensates for the reduction in the number of cases from eleven to seven.[2]

3. Percentage of teachers in the school who scored high on the past professionalism index.

4. Percentage of teachers in the school who scored high on the present professionalism index.

5. Percentage net increase in professionalism (NIP).

The Professional Working Climate of the School. Hypothesis 2.2.1 stated above is simple and straightforward. The question is: what is the effect of the school's working climate on its teachers' professional orientations?[3]

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[1] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Census Tract Statistics..." United States Census of Population: 1950.

[2] Taus between professional working climate and professional orientation measures based on all eleven schools are not too different from the taus based on the seven junior high schools alone.

[3] See Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., The Academic Mind (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), for an analysis of the effects of quality of college on professors' feelings of apprehension; Edwin J. Thomas, "Role Conceptions and Organizational Size," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 30-37, for a study of the effects of size of unit on role conceptions; Seymour M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), for an analysis of the effects of chapel size and climate on social relations and politics in the ITU.

The data in Table 22 show that the predicted relationships are stronger for men than they are for women, but even the former are not satistically significant (P=.12,1-t, between professional climate and present professionalism, P=.12,1-t, between professional climate and NIP). As a matter of fact, since only the tau between working climate and social-economic level of students in Table 22 is significant beyond the .05 level, and since significance tests are not available for the partial taus, I shall ignore significance levels in the next few pages and speculate about professional climate and social-economic level by simply comparing taus.

A tau of .43 between professional climate and men's present professionalism could mean either that schools with the more professional working climates promote corresponding orientations in their teachers, or that schools with the more professional climates attract and retain the more professionally oriented teachers to begin with. The tau of -.05 between professional climate and past professionalism, together with a tau of .43 between professional climate and NIP, support the interpretation that the professional working climate of the school has a greater influence in shaping the orientations of its teachers than in attracting teachers with professional orientations to start with.[1]

---

[1] Since in the majority of the cases the teacher's first assignment, to which the "past" corresponds, was in a school other than his present school, this interpretation assumes that professionalizing influences intervening up to the teacher's assignment to his present school are randomly distributed. A more convincing method for determining the direction of the relationship between professional climate and level of professionalism would have been to divide each school sample into "newcomers", teachers in their first year in school, and "veterans". If the correlations for the veterans were stronger than for the newcomers, this would have pointed to school climate as the independent variable. Unfortunately, the majority of the teachers did not report how long they had worked in the present school; they reported only how long they had been employed in the school system.

TABLE 22

RANK ORDER OF PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PAST AND PRESENT, AND PERCENTAGE NIP BY PROFESSIONAL CLIMATE AND MEDIAN INCOME OF CENSUS TRACT IN WHICH SCHOOL IS LOCATED

School	Professional Climate[a] (1)	Median Income of Census Tract[a] (2)	Men			Women		
			% High Prof. Past (3)	% High Prof. Present (4)	% NIP (5)	% High Prof. Past (3)	% High Prof. Present (4)	% NIP (5)
A	1	4	5	2	2	3	1	1
B	2	1	3	4	4	2	4	4
C	3	2	7	6	1	4	6	7
D	4	3	1	1	6	5	7	5.5
E	5	5	4	3	3	7	5	5.5
F	6	6	2	5	7	6	3	3
G	7	7	6	7	5	1	2	2
PROBABILITY VALUES AND KENDALL'S TAUS								
Professional climate			1.00(2-t) t = -.05	.12(1-t) t = .43	.12(1-t) t = .43	.56(2-t) t = .24	1.00(2-t) t = -.05	.77(2-t) t = -.09
Professional climate, controlling for median income of tract (Partial tau)			t = -.07	t = .44	t = .44	t = .32	t = .42	t = .42
Median income of tract			.50(2-t) t = .05	.20(1-t) t = .33	.20(1-t) t = .33	.40(2-t) t = .12	.40(2-t) t = -.33	.30(2-t) t = -.38
Median income of tract, controlling for professional climate (Partial tau)			t = .10	t = .06	t = .06	t = -.01	t = -.60	t = -.64

[a] Kendall's tau between median income of tract and professional climate is .71 (P=.01,1-t)

The Social-economic Level of the Students. The characteristics of the clientele are an important part of the work situation for both professionals and nonprofessionals.[1] Becker describes three kinds of problems encountered by teachers assigned to schools in slum areas: low motivation to learn, discipline problems, and moral problems.[2] Faced with this kind of work situation, the teacher either adjusts to it (he lowers his standards and his expectations) or he leaves it by requesting a transfer to a school in a better area. The latter solution accounts for the high rate of turnover in slum schools.

The question posed here is: what is the effect on professionalism of the working problems associated with students' social-economic level? The rationale is that the working situation in a low social-economic area school, where middle class values emphasizing achievement, morality, and self-discipline do not operate, make it difficult for the teacher to do a competent job according to professional standards (Assumption 2); and that, furthermore, this kind of climate inhibits the growth of a professional outlook in the teachers in such a school (Assumption 1).[3]

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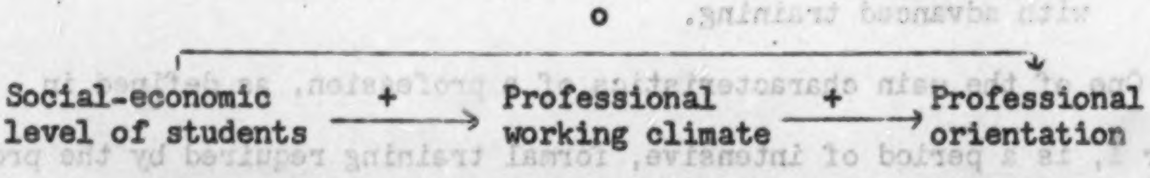
[1] For discussion of this problem see Ohlin, op. cit., and Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Groups and the Practice of Medicine," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 542-549.

[2] Howard S. Becker, "Role and Career Problems of the Chicago Public School Teacher" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1951).

[3] This does not mean that middle class children and parents do not also present problems that have negative consequences for professionalism. Interference in school affairs by overzealous middle class parents may be as frustrating to the professional teacher as apathy on the part of working class parents. On the other hand, working class children may provide just the setting for a service-oriented teacher to work out his mission. Hypothesis 2.2.2 states that the over-all effect of lower class students, however, is to inhibit the growth of professionalism.

Each of the two assumptions and Hypothesis 2.2.2 can be tested directly. Assumption 1 has already been tested as Hypothesis 2.2.1, above. As for Assumption 2, Table 22 shows a strong relationship between the social-economic level of its students and the professional working climate of the school (t=.71, P=.01,1-t).

Men teachers. Table 22 also shows that the social-economic level of students is positively related to the professionalism level of men teachers, but only because of its influence on the working climate of the school; it does not have an independent effect. Note the low partial taus between social-economic level of students and present professionalism and NIP, controlling for working climate (.06 in each case). Compare these with the first-order taus between social-economic level and present professionalism and NIP (.33 in each case). On the other hand, note that the relationships between working climate and present professionalism and NIP (taus = .43) are not affected by controlling for social-economic level of students (partial taus = .44). For men, the process may be summarized as follows:


o
Social-economic level of students
+
Professional working climate
+
Professional orientation

Women teachers. Professional working climate and social-economic level of students appear to have opposite effects on women's professionalism. The relationship of each of these independent variables to professionalism is strengthened when the other is partialled out. Note the strong partial taus of -.60 and -.64 between social-economic level (SES) of students and professionalism, present and NIP.

It is possible that working with children in low social-economic areas brings out missionary orientations in women teachers. It is interesting to note that only 19 percent of the women teachers in the three highest SES schools checked the service item as "necessary", compared with 36 percent of the women teachers in the three lowest SES schools, a 17 percent difference; on the other three items in the index an average of 27 percent of the former checked "necessary", compared with 32 percent of the latter, only a 5 percent difference.[1]

For women teachers, the process may be summarized as follows:

$$\begin{tikzcd} \text{Social-economic level of students} \arrow[r, "+"] \arrow[rr, bend left, "-"] & \text{Professional working climate} \arrow[r, "+"] & \text{Professional orientation} \end{tikzcd}$$

The above discussion on organizational climate should be regarded as speculative, since most relationships discussed are not statistically significant.

Advanced Training

Hypothesis 2.3: Professionalism varies positively with advanced training.

One of the main characteristics of a profession, as defined in Chapter I, is a period of intensive, formal training required by the professional's claim to exclusive competence to perform a specialized task. Educators point hopefully to the rise in the minimum educational requirements for teachers as a sign of increasing professionalism in teaching. The majority of the teachers today, especially on the secondary level, enter the field with at least a Bachelor's degree.[1] Some school systems require one year of graduate training for seconndary level teachers.

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[1] I suspected that the lower class schools would contain a larger proportion of teachers from working class backgrounds than middle class schools. I found an opposite trend for women teachers: 83 percent of the women teachers in the three lowest SES schools come from middle class backgrounds, compared with 69 percent in the three highest SES schools. There was no difference for men teachers.

Many teachers, however, take advanced training beyond the minimum requirements. A common pattern is for teachers to enter full-time teaching when they have satisfied the minimum requirements (a Bachelor's degree in the present system), then continue to take advanced courses during the regular academic year and summer sessions. More than a quarter of my sample were taking at least one course during that semester. The question raised in Hypothesis 2.3 is: does advanced training make teachers more professionally oriented?

Two processes underlie the effects of advanced training in promoting a professional orientation: (1) advanced training often means close interaction with educators who are the profession's elder statesmen. Assuming that the latter represent the more dedicated and professionalized persons in education, then sustained interaction with this group means sustained reinforcement of a professional outlook. (2) Advanced training in a set of skills brings with it an increased commitment to those skills; training is seen as an investment. This leads, in turn, to an increased commitment to the professional norms and values that surround the performance of the skills learned.

Table 23 confirms Hypothesis 2.3 for both men and women teachers (NIP is significant at P=.01,1-t, for men, P=.05,1-t, for women; present professionalism, P=.15,1-t, for men, P=.12,1-t, for women). Again, it is possible that the more professionally oriented teachers tend to take advanced training, but this argument is weakened by the irregular relationship between past professionalism and advanced training (40, 28, and 38 percent for men; 39, 44, and 33 percent for women).

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[1] A small number of older teachers in my sample entered teaching without a Bachelor's degree, but all have since earned the degree.

Because I suspected that teachers from middle class backgrounds are more likely to take advanced training than teachers from working class backgrounds, I examined the relationship between advanced training and professionalism, controlling for social class background (see Tables 49 and 50 in Appendix C). The observation in Table 49 among lower working class men that those with only a Bachelor's degree are more professional than those with a Master's degree (plus up to 15 credits) suggests that advanced training is also taken by nonprofessional upwardly mobile teachers to satisfy requirements for promotion.[1]

Type of Training. I have analyzed the relation between amount of training and professionalism. I turn now to a brief analysis of the type of training and its effects on professionalism.

Nearly all teachers take their graduate training in teachers' colleges or in university schools of education. Since there is little

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[1] Closer inspection of Table 49 also shows that the relationship between social class background and professionalism is reversed among those men with only a Bachelor's degree.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PAST AND PRESENT, AND PERCENTAGE NIP BY AMOUNT OF TRAINING

Training	Men				Women			
	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N
Bachelor's	40	36	+1	99	39	49	+22	105
Master's plus up to 15 credits	28	39	+22	181	44	56	+26	73
Master's plus 16 or more credits	38	46	+31	43	33	60	+73	15
	P=.25 (2-t) t=-.06	P=.15 (1-t) t=.06	P=.01 (1-t) t=.11		P=.81 (2-t) t=.02	P=.12 (1-t) t=.09	P=.05 (1-t) t=.10	

variation in the type of graduate school attended, and since a third of the sample had not had any graduate training at all, only the type of undergraduate institution where the teacher received his Bachelor's degree is considered.[1] Each school was classified as a teachers' college, as a university, or as a liberal arts college, according to American Colleges and Universities.[2]

Since a teachers' college is a "professional" school with a professionally specialized curriculum, and since the majority of the student's colleagues are studying to be teachers, I assumed it would be more likely to promote a professional orientation in its teacher graduates than a liberal arts college. A university, housing both a school of education and a liberal arts school, would be intermediate in its effects on professionalism.

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[1] Although this is a prejob experience and, strictly speaking, should have been included on this basis in Chapter III, it is more appropriate to introduce it here under training.

[2] American Council on Education, American Colleges and Universities (7th ed.; Washington, D.C., 1956).

Table 24 does not support this prediction. Among both men and women teachers, liberal arts graduates are more professional than teachers' college graduates, with university graduates in between. Although the differences are small and do not approach statistical significance (P=.31,2-t, for men, and P=.33,2 -t, for women),the direction of the relationship deserves further comment.

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PRESENT, BY TYPE OF SCHOOL WHERE RESPONDENT RECEIVED BACHELOR'S DEGREE

School	Men	Women
Teachers' college	37 (149)	48 (62)
University	41 (146)	55 (101)
Liberal arts college	47 (30)	59 (29)
Difference between T.C. and L.A. graduates	P=.31(2-t)	P=.33(2-t)

An explanation for the data in Table 24 is suggested by taking a second look at the curricula of teachers' colleges and liberal arts colleges. Teachers' colleges generally require a greater concentration on so-called "professional" courses. But the term is misleading; they are mainly "how-to" and "methods" courses. Liberal arts colleges, of course, do not offer such courses. The liberal arts graduate who goes into teaching usually takes these courses in his graduate training, if at all. It is possible that this type of specialization, emphasizing methods and means, in the teachers' colleges inhibits the development of a broad, task centered professional orientation. The liberal arts emphasis on intellectual development, on the other hand, may stimulate the development of such an orientation.[1]

Because social class background is related to type of undergraduate training (42 of the 59 liberal arts graduates come from middle class backgrounds), I controlled for this variable (see Table 49 in Appendix C). Many of the cells do not contain a sufficient number of cases to justify comparisons, but no significant patterns emerge.

Professional Activities

Hypothesis 2.4.1: Professionalism varies positively with participation in professional associations.

Assumption 1: The American Federation of Teachers emphasizes teacher autonomy more than does the National Education Association.

Hypothesis 2.4.2: Members of the AFT are more professional than members of the NEA.

A distinguishing characteristic of a profession is a formal, active, professional association. Although this is insufficient as the sole basis on which to classify occupational groups as professional, it is nevertheless an important characteristic.

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[1] Subject matter versus methods is only one of the many issues confronting teacher education. For a discussion of other issues see Lieberman, op. cit., pp. 185-213.

What is the role of the professional association in promoting a professional orientation among its members? This part of the analysis is concerned with two specific aspects of this question: First, does participation in the activities of such an association make teachers any more professionally oriented than they otherwise would be? Second, which of the two major competing national teachers' associations, the National Education Association or the AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers, is more likely to promote a professional orientation among its teachers?

Before I take up these questions, however, I shall make three brief points concerning teachers' associations as professional associations.

1. Teachers' associations do not fare well when evaluated against the ideal type of a professional association which "acts as guardian of esoteric knowledge and technique, administers professional training, controls entry to the occupation, sets up standards of work performance, disciplines the members, fosters growth of technique and information sharing, promotes a professional ideology of service and idealizes its social responsibilities...."[1] Participation, therefore, in the activities of teachers' associations will not have strong effects on the orientations of its members. This is not so much an indictment of the teachers' associations as it is a reflection of the status of the organization of education as a profession.

2. Half of the million and a half or so eligible educators, including administrators, are members of the National Education Association, and about 55,000 are members of the American Federation of Teachers. The latter does not include administrators, but does include "nonprofessional" persons

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[1] Wilensky, op. cit., p. 134.

such as school custodians, secretaries, etc.[1] This compares with about 80 percent of the eligible dentists who are members of the national American Dental Association, about 65 percent of the eligible doctors who are members of the American Medical Association, and about 25 percent of the eligible lawyers who are members of the American Bar Association.[2] Although the absolute membership of the national teachers' associations is greater than that of any of the others, its relative coverage is smaller than that of the American Dental Association and the American Medical Association.

3. Jurisdictional disputes between associations claiming to represent the same professional group are not unique to teaching. The effects of this split on the professionalization of teaching are difficult to assess. On the one hand, the very existence of two teachers' associations makes impossible the performance of the important professional functions of accreditation, certification, and the definition of work standards by either association. It also undermines the authority of each in dealing with outside groups, since neither can claim exclusive representation of teachers. On the other hand, this very competition may make each more professionally militant.

The rationale underlying Hypothesis 2.4.1 is straightforward: the greater the teacher's participation and involvement in professional activities and interaction with professional colleagues (measured by frequency of attendance at professional meetings), the greater will be his commitment to professional norms.

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[1] The New York Times, July 3, 1960, Section 4, p. 8.

[2] Cited in Lieberman, op. cit., p. 265. Data on membership in local chapters, which may be more meaningful than membership in the national organization, are not available.

Controlling for membership in the AFT versus NEA, Table 25 shows a clear relationship between participation and professionalism only among men who are members of the AFT (P=.04,1-t, for present professionalism and P=.02,1-t, for NIP). The difference approaches significance among men who are members of the NEA (P=.15,1-t, and P=.08,1-t), while among women the P values are far from significant, regardless of their organizational membership. Since social class background (middle class teachers are more active than working class teachers) and marital status (single teachers are more active than married teachers, especially among women) are related to participation in professional association, I added these variables as controls. No contradictory patterns emerged (see Tables 49, 50, 51 in Appendix C).

I come now to Hypothesis 2.4.2: Members of the AFT are more professional than members of the NEA. I need not go into a detailed comparison of the two organizations.[1] The critical issues are (1) should a professional teachers' association affiliate with a labor union, and (2) should it admit educational administrators as members. The first issue requires little discussion. The implications for professionalism of the AFT's affiliation with the AFL-CIO are not as simple and clear-cut as the protagonists claim. On the face of it, union affiliation neither promotes nor inhibits the development of a professional orientation. On the second issue, the NEA's admission of educational administrators to membership is a direct violation of teacher autonomy and colleague control over the conditions of work. It has been labeled a "company union" dominated by administrators. The AFT's greater concern with teacher autonomy and control would be expected to foster a higher level of professinnalism among its members than the NEA.

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[1] See Lieberman, op. cit., pp. 257-333, for a stimulating discussion of these differences.

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PAST AND PRESENT, AND PERCENTAGE NIP BY AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS[a]

Amount of Participation	Men				Women			
	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N
None	34	34	+ 3	29	32	48	+24	25
AFT								
Low (1)	27	31	0	26	61	67	+39	18
Medium (2-10)	31	32	+17	120	42	51	+28	55
High (11+)	30	47	+35	70	46	65	+38	26
NEA								
Low (1)	42	41	-33	12	23	46	0	13
Medium (2-10)	27	39	+23	44	40	49	+29	35
High (11+)	38	62	+25	8	33	45	-11	9
Relationship between participation and prof.--AFT members	.86(2-t) t=-.01	.04(1-t) t=.12	.02(1-t) t=.12		.67(2-t) t=.04	.23(1-t) t=.07	.33(1-t) t=.07	
Relationship between participation and prof.--NEA members	.64(2-t) t=-.05	.15(1-t) t=.09	.08(1-t) t=.13		.56(2-t) t=.07	.94(2-t) t=-.01	.74(2-t) t=-.03	

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[a] See Appendix A for a description of the index of participation in professional associations.

TABLE 25 (Continued)

Amount of Participation	Men			Women		
	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP
Differences between AFT and NEA members --Low participants	.35(2-t)	.54(2-t)	.13(1-t) t=.19	.03(2-t)	.12(1-t)	.11(1-t) t=.23
Differences between AFT and NEA members --Medium participants	.62(2-t)	.40(2-t)	.56(2-t) t=-.02	.85(2-t)	.43(1-t)	.90(2-t) t=-.01
Differences between AFT and NEA members --High participants	.64(2-t)	.42(2-t)	.42(1-t) t=.01	.49(2-t)	.14(1-t)	.07(1-t) t=.24

The data in Table 25 do not support this hypothesis; none of the twelve differences, controlling for amount of participation, is significant at the .05 level, and five are in the opposite direction. Controlling for social class background, since working class teachers are more likely to join the union-affiliated AFT than middle class teachers, does not reveal any contradictory patterns (see Tables 49 and 50 in Appendix C).

This question deserves a final comment. A mechanical comparison of AFT members and NEA members in a single school system is not a sufficient test for comparing the degree to which the NEA and AFT foster professionalism. On the national level, the AFT, which claims less than five percent of the classroom teachers, is the minority association. But in the particular school system under study, the AFT chapter happens to be the majority association. The relative strength of each organization may be an important factor in influencing its members' orientations.

Apart from numbers, however, local chapters in both organizations display a wide diversity of programs; variations within the two organizations from chapter to chapter may be more crucial for the level of professionalism of their teachers than variations between them. Since this study is limited to a single school system, neither of these leads can be investigated here.

Informal Colleague Relations

Hypothesis 2.5: Professionalism varies positively with the frequency of informal relations with colleagues on and off the job.

The importance of informal relations in work situations was recognized several decades ago by Mayo and Barnard. However, few research studies since then have focused on the problem of identifying the specific consequences of informal colleague relations in natural organizational settings. Lipset's study of the International Typographical Union is a notable exception.[1] Lipset's objective is to explain the unique democratic, two-party system in the ITU. He finds the answer in the unusually active occupational community. A highly developed system of formal and informal activities, both in and outside the work situation, promotes interest in union politics and trains union leaders for the future. An internal analysis, for example, shows that printers who score high on a social relations index, which measures their informal contacts with other printers outside the shop, show greater interest in union politics than those who score low on the social relations index.

The problem here is to analyze the effects of informal colleague relations among teachers, not on their interest in politics in the teachers' associations, but on their professional orientations.

The underlying assumption is that informal social relations between teachers promote interest and involvement in matters relevant to the work situation and, in turn, commitment to professional norms.[2]

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[1] Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, op. cit. Other studies include Herbert Menzel and Elihu Katz, "Social Relations and Innovation in the Medical Profession: The Epidemiology of a New Drug," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIX (Winter, 1955-56), 337-352; Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Integration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Summer, 1948), 280-315; Stanley E. Seashore, Group Cohesiveness in the Industrial Work Group (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, 1954); Peter Blau, Patterns of Bureaucracy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

[2] This is formally different from the classical voting situation which represents a choice between two "opposite" poles, e.g., a Republican candidate (-1) versus a Democratic candidate (+1). Knowing that the voter is a member of a highly cohesive primary group interested in the

My index of informal colleague relations is based on responses to two items: the number of teachers among the respondent's three closest friends (Question 37A) and the occupations of the persons with whom the respondent spends "more of his free time....with teachers or with people in other occupations" (Question 37B). The index is described in Appendix A.

Table 26 shows a positive relationship between colleague relations and present level of professionalism for men (P=.001,1-t), but not for women teachers (P=.23,1-t). The relationship between colleague relations and NIP is erratic and not statistically significant for either. A slight trend in past professionalism among men also suggests that those men teachers who see much of their colleagues informally were more professionally oriented when they first came into teaching. There is no such trend among women teachers.

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elections is not sufficient to predict how he will vote, unless we know the group's norms (whether it is Republican or Democratic). Similarly, in a study of work groups, Seashore (op.cit.) finds that group cohesiveness does not necessarily yield high productivity; as a matter of fact, the most cohesive groups are either the least productive or the most productive, depending on their norms concerning productivity. The issue of professionalism among teachers, however, is formally different. The choice is between low professionalism (near 0) and high professionalism (+1). This is another way of saying that the range of norms relevant to the issue of professionalism is more limited in a teacher-colleague group, so that colleague relations are likely to promote professionalism, but not non-professionalism; the nonprofessional teachers simply do not associate informally with their colleagues. This is fortunate, from the point of view of this study, since my measure of colleague relations is a gross quantitative measure of the teacher's informal contacts with other teachers. I have no information on other important dimensions of these informal relations, such as the norms of the colleague group, what they talk about (is it possible that colleague relations have a greater effect on professionalism among those who "talk shop" than among those who talk about sports and weather?), where they meet (do informal colleague relations on the job have a greater effect on professionalism than informal colleague relations outside the job situation?), etc. Becker (op.cit., chap. V), incidentally, points to the low level of colleague relations among teachers on the job; he ascribes this to the nature of the work situation in which teachers (1) have similar, but not common problems, (2) have no control over hiring and firing, and (3) lack effective sanctions for controlling the behavior of the novice.

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PAST AND PRESENT, AND PERCENTAGE NIP BY INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS[a]

Colleague Relations	Men				Women			
	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N	High Prof. Past	High Prof. Present	NIP	N
Low (1)	30	29	15	46	36	50	50	14
(2-4)	31	32	15	100	41	53	31	75
(5-6)	25	35	25	79	39	49	6	53
(7-8)	39	51	12	59	50	59	21	34
High(9)	42	59	5	40	43	72	47	14
	P=.18 (2-t) t=.08	P=.001 (1-t) t= .22	P=.70 (2-t) t=-.02		P=.47 (2-t) t=.06	P=.23 (1-t) t=.07	P=.60 (2-t) t=-.07	

[a] See Appendix A for a description of the colleague relations index.

Having analyzed the effects of colleague relations on professionalism, let me now investigate two specific characteristics that facilitate colleague relations and the possible conditioning effects of these characteristics on the original relationship between colleague relations and professionalism. Consider social class background and marital status.

Social Class Background. Among men, teachers from upper middle class backgrounds are more active socially with their colleagues than teachers from lower middle class and working class backgrounds, although the relationship is weak (see Table 27). Among women, I find an opposite relationship. This difference between men and women teachers might be

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explained by the difference in their concern with social mobility; but the exact effects of social mobility in this process are not easy to specify.[1] Men teachers from middle class backgrounds may feel more at ease mixing with other middle class people, including other teachers, than men teachers from lower middle class and working class backgrounds. The latter may continue to seek out friends in working class occupations, with whose style of life they may be more familiar and more comfortable. Women teachers from middle class backgrounds, many of whom are perhaps married to men in higher status occupations, mix less with teachers and perhaps more with people in other middle class occupations than women teachers from working class backgrounds.

TABLE 27

INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Colleague Relations	Men				Women			
	Social Class Background				Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Low (1-4)	40%	44%	48%	50%	56%	48%	30%	50%
Medium (5-6)	20	28	21	23	31	19	34	25
High (7-9)	40	28	31	27	13	33	36	25
	100% (45)	100% (106)	100% (99)	100% (48)	100% (45)	100% (74)	100% (33)	100% (8)

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[1] See Peter Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), 290-295.

Among men, the relationship between colleague relations and present professionalism is generally monotonic and in the expected direction in each of the social class groups (see Table 28). The size of the differences is generally the same, with a relatively small difference (15 percent) in the upper working class group. Among women the relationship is uneven, due perhaps to the small number of cases in several cells.

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PRESENT, BY INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Colleague Relations	Men				Women			
	Social Class Background				Social Class Background			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Low (1-4)	33 (18)	28 (46)	30 (47)	37 (24)	80 (25)	56 (36)	40 (10)	0 (4)
Medium (5-6)	22 (9)	43 (30)	43 (21)	9 (11)	71 (14)	36 (14)	72 (11)	0 (2)
High (7-9)	61 (18)	57 (30)	45 (31)	62 (13)	33 (6)	71 (24)	67 (12)	0 (2)

NIP BY INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL CLASS

Colleague Relations	Men Upper Middle	Men Lower Middle	Men Upper Working	Men Lower Working	Women Upper Middle	Women Lower Middle	Women Upper Working	Women Lower Working
Low (1-4)	+28 (18)	+22 (46)	+17 (47)	0 (24)	+16 (25)	+33 (36)	+40 (10)	+75 (4)
Medium (5-6)	+22 (9)	+33 (30)	+24 (21)	- 9 (11)	+36 (14)	0 (14)	-36 (11)	+50 (2)
High (7-9)	+17 (18)	+ 7 (30)	+ 6 (31)	+23 (13)	-17 (6)	+54 (24)	+17 (12)	+50 (2)

Marital Status. Marriage limits somewhat the freedom of individual teachers to choose their friends. Single teachers have more freedom because they do not have to take into account the competing preferences of their spouses. These preferences will tend to reduce the extent to which married teachers associate informally with their colleagues, with one exception: teachers who are married to other teachers will be even more likely to affiliate with their colleagues than single teachers. In this case, job-based preferences for friends and acquaintances point in the same direction--toward other teachers. In general, Table 29 supports these expectations.[1] Among men, those who are married to teachers are most active socially with colleagues, but single men are no more active than men who are married to women not in the labor force. The competing job-based preferences of employed wives who are not teachers are reflected in their husbands' lowest involvement in colleague relations (only 22 percent score "high" on the colleague relations index). Among women, those who are single and those who are married to teachers score highest on the colleague relations index; those who are married to nonteachers score lowest.

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[1] Note, incidentally, that nearly half (114/277) of the married men teachers have teacher spouses. The majority of these teacher spouses of the men are probably in the elementary grades, or in other school systems, which would explain the smaller number of women in Table 29 who are married to men teachers (35/90). This high intramarriage rate may indicate a comparatively strong occupational community of teachers, compared with other occupations. Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (op. cit., p. 107) consider the possibility that the intramarriage rate within an occupation may correspond to the general propensity of people in that occupation to associate with one another. Table 59 in Appendix D shows that teachers have a stronger occupational community than the sample of staff experts, but this can be partially explained by the greater availability of colleagues in the work situation.

TABLE 29

INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS BY MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE

Colleague Relations	Men				Women		
	Single	Married			Single	Married	
		Teacher	In Other Occupation	Housewife		Teacher	In Other Occupation
Low (1-4)	36%	39%	52%	49%	41%	48%	59%
Medium (5-6)	32	24	26	22	29	21	26
High (7-9)	32	37	22	29	30	31	15
Total	100% (44)	100% (113)	100% (72)	100% (78)	100% (91)	100% (29)	100% (53)

Do the effects of informal colleague relations on professionalism vary according to the freedom and ease with which teachers can affiliate with their colleagues? I would expect those teachers who are least free to choose other teachers as friends, i.e., those married to nonteachers, would be most professionalized by contact with their colleagues. Implicit in this reasoning is that involvement in colleague relations by teachers married to nonteachers reflects stronger predispositions toward professionalism than involvement in colleague relations by teachers to whom these relations come more easily. Hence, the professionalizing influences of colleague relations would "take" more readily among the former. The data for men do not support this reasoning (see Table 30); the percentage difference in present professionalism for men married to nonteachers is 18, compared to 15 for single men and 26 for men married to teachers. There are not enough married women who score high on the colleague relations index to make comparisons.

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PRESENT, BY COLLEAGUE RELATIONS MARITAL STATUS, AND OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE

Colleague Relations	Men				Women		
	Single	Married			Single	Married	
		Teacher	In Other Occupation	Housewife		Teacher	In Other Occupation
Low (1-4)	28 (16)	30 (44)	32 (37)	34 (38)	52 (38)	57 (14)	52 (31)
Medium (5-6)	43 (14)	29 (28)	32 (19)	35 (17)	47 (26)	50 (6)	57 (14)
High (7-9)	43 (14)	56 (41)	50 (16)	56 (23)	68 (27)	44 (9)	62 (8)

NIP BY COLLEAGUE RELATIONS, MARITAL STATUS, AND OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE

Low (1-4)	0 (16)	+23 (44)	+19 (37)	+13 (38)	+45 (38)	+29 (14)	+16 (31)
Medium (5-6)	- 7 (14)	+25 (28)	+42 (19)	+35 (17)	- 7 (26)	+17 (6)	+36 (14)
High (7-9)	-14 (14)	+22 (41)	+25 (16)	+ 4 (23)	+42 (27)	+11 (9)	+37 (8)

Summary

The effects of the social origin variables analyzed in Chapter III are not limited to professionalism; they are generally regarded as having a strong impact on a wide range of behavior--family relations, political behavior, leisure patterns, to mention but a few. In contrast to social origins, the variables analyzed in this chapter are more closely linked to the work setting, and their effects are more likely to be limited to orientations toward the work situation. The relative effects of these two sources of influence are examined briefly in Chapter VI.

It was found that, among men teachers, advanced training, participation in the activities of the American Federation of Teachers, and informal relations with colleagues are correlated with a professional orientation toward work. Advanced training and participation in AFT activities were established as independent variables. Regarding colleague relations, however, it was found that men who are socially close to other teachers tended to be professionally oriented when they first entered teaching.

Of these three variables, only advanced training has an effect on the professionalism of women teachers. This suggests that women do not require participation in professional activities and interaction with their colleagues to sustain their professional orientations, whereas men teachers do. The strong prejob impact of sex role on professionalism appears to make these later social supports unnecessary for women.

I found also that teachers of academic subjects are more professionally oriented than teachers of nonacademic subjects, and this was explained by the more intellectual and specialized nature of academic subject matter.

This difference appears among both men and women teachers, but it is statistically significant only among men.

Finally, although none of the relationships in the analysis of working climate and social-economic level of students is statistically significant (except the tau between working climate and social-economic level of students), I speculated on the differences in their effects on men and women teachers. Among men teachers, working climate has a positive effect on their professionalism. The social-economic level of students also has a positive effect, but it disappears when controlling for working climate. Among women teachers, working climate and the social-economic level of students have independent, and opposite, effects: a professional working climate supports professional orientations, as among men, but it is students from lower social-economic levels that bring out professionalism in women. Women's emphasis on the service component of professionalism was suggested as a possible explanation for the latter finding.

CHAPTER V

EFFECTS OF PROFESSIONALISM ON PERFORMANCE

Chapters III and IV examined the antecedents of professionalism--social origins and experiences in the work context--that promote a professional orientation toward the job. I turn now to the consequences of professionalism on three aspects of performance in the work situation. They are:

1. _Job effectiveness_. Are professionally oriented teachers better teachers than nonprofessionally oriented teachers?
2. _Proceduralism_. Are professionally oriented teachers more resistant to proceduralism than nonprofessionally oriented teachers?
3. _Overtime_. Are professionally oriented teachers more likely to work overtime than nonprofessionally oriented teachers?

The general query underlying each of these questions is whether professional _orientations_ have any effect on organizational _performance_. It should be noted that each of the dependent variables in this chapter--job effectiveness, proceduralism, and overtime--is _self-reported_. The findings should be evaluated accordingly.

Job Effectiveness

Hypothesis 3.1: Job effectiveness varies positively with professionalism.

I expect a strong correlation between professionalism and job effectiveness. Other things being equal, the more a person values job competence, the more likely he is to be an effective teacher.

The conceptualization and measurement of job effectiveness, however, is a difficult problem. The selection of criteria of job effectiveness is complicated by disagreement among educators themselves as to what the goal of secondary education should be:

> ...the battle rages as to whether the public schools should broaden or reduce their functions, should produce the rational man or the Christian citizen, should follow public opinion or lead it, should aim at a particular kind of social order or ignore the social order, should inculcate moral codes without question or get students to regard them critically, should go out of their way to raise controversial issues or go out of their way to avoid them, should prepare students for this world or the next one, should remake or preserve or ignore our economic institutions, should emphasize intellectual training or character building or vocational training, should try to promote moral and spiritual values or leave these to the home and church....[1]

The relevance of these goals, or criteria, also vary from one subject to another, from one grade level to another, from one type of student to another. To illustrate: Teacher A is most effective teaching English to students from working class families, while Teacher B is most effective teaching English to students from middle class families; Teacher C is most effective training his history students for good citizenship, while Teacher D is most effective training his history students to memorize facts and dates; Coach E produces winning football teams, but Coach F teaches good sportsmanship. How should the effectiveness of these teachers be compared and ranked?

I have assumed that the effects of subject matter, grade level, and clientele are randomly distributed in this brief analysis of professionalism and job effectiveness. The problem of multiple, and often inconsistent, criteria of effectiveness is handled by asking the teachers to rate themselves in eight different areas, i.e., criteria, of job performance[1] (see Question 33 in questionnaire, Appendix B). I considered requesting colleagues, the department chairman, or the principal to rate the teachers' effectiveness in these areas, but since both the NEA and the AFT officially oppose any form of "merit rating", this did not appear feasible.

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[1] Lieberman, op. cit., p. 29.

The validity of any form of merit rating by peers or superiors presents many complicated problems.[2] The use of self-ratings in this study poses an additional problem. It can be argued that self-ratings of effectiveness are not independent of professionalism, since both measures come from the same source--the respondent. On the other hand, assuming that the more professional teachers apply more rigorous standards of performance in rating themselves than do the less professional teachers, this lack of independence is likely to work against the hypothesis.

Table 31 shows a strong relationship between professionalism and job effectiveness (P=.001,1-t, for men and P=.04,1-t, for women). Hypothesis 3.1 is then confirmed.

The effects of Professionalism on Specific Areas of Performance. I expected those activities which tie in closely with school goals and the interpretation of school goals to the outside community (items 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8 in Table 32) to be more sensitive to differences in professionalism than, for example, custodial activities (item 2) or relations with the administration (item 7).

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[1] Adapted from Egon G. Guba and Charles E. Bidwell, Administrative Relationships: Teacher Effectiveness, Teacher Satisfaction, and Administrative Behavior (Chicago: The Midwest Administration Center, 1957), p. 110.

[2] For a review of these problems, see Edwin E. Ghiselli and Clarence W. Brown, Personnel and Industrial Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), chaps. 3 and 4.

TABLE 31

JOB EFFECTIVENESS[a] BY PROFESSIONALISM

Job Effectiveness		Men			Women		
		Professionalism			Professionalism		
		High	Medium	Low	High	Medium	Low
High	(1.0-1.9)	34%	25%	14%	29%	32%	12%
Medium	(2.0-2.5)	36	29	39	39	34	24
Low	(2.6-2.9)	30	46	47	32	34	64
Total		100% (133)	100% (135)	100% (71)	100% (108)	100% (71)	100% (25)
		P=.001(1-t) t = .15			P=.04(1-t) t = .10		

[a] See Appendix A for a description of the job effectiveness index.

Table 32 offers little support to this expectation. Among men, the average difference between high and low professionals on the first set of items--1, 4, 5, 6, and 8--is 11.4 percent, compared with an average difference of 8.5 percent on items 2 and 7. Among women, the differences are 16.8 percent and 12 percent, respectively.

TABLE 32

JOB EFFECTIVENESS IN EIGHT AREAS OF PERFORMANCE BY PROFESSIONALISM

Job Performance	Men			Women		
	Professionalism			Professionalism		
	High (133)	Medium (135)	Low (71)	High (108)	Medium (71)	Low (25)
1. Working with parents and parent groups	71[a]	54	49	62	59	46
2. Keeping your students under control	88	81	83	78	93	58
3. Working with fellow staff members	86	81	76	93	87	81
4. Communicating and stimulating your students' interest in the subject matter you teach	74	64	62	72	79	65
5. Working with students and meeting their needs	70	60	67	68	81	50
6. Identifying and developing school goals	57	48	47	49	52	31
7. Working with the school administration	75	62	63	74	70	65
8. Working with community groups	47	40	37	45	36	19

[a] Figures represent percentage who checked "very effective" or "effective".

Proceduralism

Hypothesis 3.2: Proceduralism varies negatively with professionalism.

The professional is goal oriented. His training as a professional supports his resistance to the bureaucratic pathologies of ritualism and proceduralism, where means are transformed into ends.[1] Thus the professional does not hesitate to overlook bureaucratic rules and procedures when, in his view, they interfere with the achievement of his more important professional task.[2]

Proceduralism is measured here by the respondent's answer to the following question:

23. In certain cases I overlook the rules and regulations under which I work when I think they interfere with my more important responsibilities as a teacher. I do this: (Check one)

___ (1) Quite frequently
___ (2) Occasionally
___ (3) Rarely or never

It is assumed that responses to this question represent valid reports of actual behavior and that contamination with the responses to the professionalism items is negligible.

Table 33 shows a weak and nonmonotonic relationship between professionalism and proceduralism for men ($P=.94$, 2-t); the medium professionals are slightly less procedural than either the high or the low professionals. Among women, a stronger, monotonic relationship appears, but it is not quite statistically significant (P=.07,1-t). Note, incidentally, the greater proportion of men, compared with women, who report they break rules frequently or occasionally.

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[1] The distinction between ends and means is recognized as a sticky problem; the ends of one social unit are the means of another. See Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), pp. 62-66.

[2] Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, pp. 184-185.

TABLE 33

PROCEDURALISM[a] BY PROFESSIONALISM

Overlook Rules:	Men			Women		
	Professionalism			Professionalism		
	High	Medium	Low	High	Medium	Low
Quite frequently or occasionally	62%	68%	60%	58%	53%	40%
Rarely or never	38	32	40	42	47	60
Total	100% (133)	100% (135)	100% (71)	100% (108)	100% (71)	100% (25)
	P=.94(2-t) t = -.004			P=.07(1-t) t = .11		

[a] Based on responses to Question 23 (see Appendix B).

Overtime

Assumption 1: Working overtime without pay indicates dedication to professional skills.

Assumption 2: Working overtime without pay also violates professional control over workload.

Hypothesis 3.3: Working overtime without pay varies positively with professionalism.

Assuming that task involvement is associated with professionalism, and the task oriented teacher will often work overtime without pay, then the professionally oriented teachers are more likely to work overtime than the nonprofessionally oriented teachers.

Working overtime, however, has another meaning. One of the important areas in which the professional exercises control over the work situation is in maintaining work standards and in specifying what constitutes a proper workload. Blau,[1] in his study of two government agencies, reports that working overtime was frowned upon by the professionals, either because it put all the other agents in a bad light, or because it was an indication of inferior ability--"only the incompetent agent [works at home] . . ." Wilensky also notes that, in the case of social workers, doing "too much work" means doing a "sloppy job", while doing "too little" means "shirking professional responsibility".[2]

But the line between "regular time" and "overtime" in the teacher's job is fuzzy. Teachers, like other professionals, do much of their "regular time" work at home, indicating a fusion of their work roles with other roles. Professional limitations on overtime, therefore, may be less effective than commonly assumed. Also, although teachers are discouraged from working in part-time jobs that may interfere with their school performance, they are encouraged to participate _as teachers_ in extracurricular and community activities, especially in youth activities.[3] This makes "overtime" even less distinguishable from "regular time", and further reduces the effectiveness of professional control over overtime.

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[1] Blau, _The Dynamics of Bureaucracy_, pp. 146-147.

[2] Wilensky and Lebeaux, _op. cit._, p. 305.

[3] The third principle of the NEA Code of Ethics states that ". . . the teacher will work . . . to strengthen the community's moral, spiritual, and intellectual life." This may be why teachers are likely to feel that their jobs "interfere" with their free time (see Table 60 in Appendix D).

Table 34 does not support Hypothesis 3.3. There is a slight trend in the expected direction, but it is not statistically significant (P=.17,1-t,for men and P=.21,1-t, for women). One explanation for this weak relationship could be that the questionnaire item does not specify those activities which are to be considered "overtime". Professionally oriented teachers may resist overtime in such nonprofessional activities as taking tickets at football games and lunchroom duties, whereas they may accept eagerly opportunities to work on committees concerning school goals, curriculum changes, etc. Had the question been restricted to the latter activities, it might have brought out a sharper relationship between professionalism and overtime.

TABLE 34

OVERTIME[a] BY PROFESSIONALISM

Hours Overtime	Men			Women		
	Professionalism			Professionalism		
	High	Medium	Low	High	Medium	Low
Up to 9	42%	45%	47%	43%	45%	48%
Between 10 and 19	44	42	46	43	47	48
20 or more	14	13	7	14	8	4
Total	100% (133)	100% (135)	100% (71)	100% (108)	100% (71)	100% (25)
	P=.17(1-t) t = .04			P=.21(1-t) t = .04		

[a] Based on responses to Question 26 (see Appendix B).

Marital Status. Overtime is determined not only by professionalism. Other competing interests must also be considered. Marital status, for example, should make a difference. Table 35 supports this expectation.

TABLE 35

OVERTIME BY MARITAL STATUS

Hours Overtime	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
Up to 9	31%	45%	37%	51%
Between 10 and 19	49	44	54	38
20 or more	20	11	9	11
Total	100% (44)	100% (280)	100% (91)	100% (87)

Controlling now for marital status, professionalism appears to have a slightly greater effect on working overtime for single teachers than for married teachers (see Table 36). Among the latter, a professional outlook must first overcome family demands on the teacher's free time before it can exert any influence on behavior. Since the degree of involvement in family life differs from one married person to another, professionalism wins out in some cases; in others, it does not. Among single teachers, with no competing family demands, professionalism has a clearer field and its effects on overtime are more predictable.

TABLE 36

OVERTIME BY PROFESSIONALISM AND MARITAL STATUS

Hours Overtime	Men						Women					
	Single			Married			Single			Married		
	High Prof.	Medium Prof.	Low Prof.	High Prof.	Medium Prof.	Low Prof.	High Prof.	Medium Prof.	Low Prof.	High Prof.	Medium Prof.	Low Prof.
Up to 9	28%	26%	57%	43%	48%	47%	37%	42%	27%	49%	49%	64%
Between 10 and 19	43	56	29	45	40	46	47	58	73	42	36	27
20 or more	29	18	14	12	12	7	16	0	0	9	15	9
Total	100% (14)	100% (23)	100% (7)	100% (116)	100% (108)	100% (59)	100% (51)	100% (31)	100% (11)	100% (44)	100% (33)	100% (11)

Summary

In the major part of this study professionalism is the dependent variable. In this brief chapter I considered professionalism as an independent variable, and investigated its effects on three areas of organizational performance: job effectiveness, proceduralism, and overtime. The data on these dependent variables are self-reports of an evaluational nature; their validity as objective descriptions is, therefore, highly suspect.

In any case, I found that professionalism and job effectiveness are positively related among both men and women teachers; my prediction that goal related functions would be more sensitive to professionalism than custodial functions was not supported by the data. Professionalism has no effect on proceduralism, although the relationship approaches statistical significance among women teachers. Finally, professionalism has a weak and not statistically significant effect on overtime among both men and women teachers.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND A POSTSCRIPT ABOUT THE FUTURE

The main objectives of this study were to investigate the effects of patterns of early socialization, represented by social origins, and of later socialization, represented by experiences in the work setting, on teachers' professional orientations toward their work. A secondary aim was to investigate the effects of these orientations on organizational performance. This chapter contains a summary of the findings, some brief comments about their generalizability to teachers in other school systems and to other professions, and some speculations about the future of professionalism in teaching. These speculations are based on (1) trends in a number of the independent variables examined in this study, and (2) the growth in size of administrative school units, which has not yet been discussed.

Summary of Findings

It is commonly assumed that women's dominant roles as mothers and wives conflict with their work roles. It is further assumed that this conflict and the discontinuity of their employment block the development of a professional orientation, thereby impeding the professionalization of occupational roles--such as nursing, social work, and teaching--filled mainly by women.

These are the main assumptions for my prediction that women teachers would be less professionally oriented than men. My data show the opposite. Although the demands of women's family roles inhibit their professionalism (single women are more professional than married women), further analysis supports the explanation that certain components of the mother and wife role may reinforce the development of professionalism among women; controlling for marital status, women who emphasize "marriage and family life" as their most important activity in life are more professional than those who emphasize their "work". This suggests that, despite obvious conflicts in terms of time and energy, certain orientations required of women in the teaching role are an extension of orientations required by their dominant roles as mothers and housewives; perhaps it is the responsibility common to both roles for socializing and training children. In any case, these data argue for a re-examination of the common assumption that women's family roles necessarily inhibit the development of professionalism on the job -- at least among teachers. Their relevance for other professional groups is, of course, problematic.

It is important to emphasize that these findings are restricted to professional orientations. In terms of certain important behavioral indicators -- such as advanced training and participation in professional organizations -- my data show that men teachers are more professional than women teachers.

Because of the central importance of sex role the rest of the analysis was done separately for men and women. Table 37 indicates the probability values of the main findings, while Chart 5 summarizes the positive influences on professionalism among men and women teachers.

Social class and religious background influence professionalism among both men and women teachers, but the processes and the conditions under which they operate vary. Among men, the disproportionate number of upwardly mobile teachers from Catholic working class backgrounds accounts for the finding that middle class teachers tend to be more professional than working class teachers. Controlling for social class background, both upward mobility and a Catholic background appear to interfere with professionalism.

Middle class and Protestant backgrounds also support professionalism among women. But in view of the absence of upward mobility among women teachers, it is suggested that differences in social class values, rather than the intrusion of upward mobility, account for their class differences in professionalism.

The data offer absolutely no support for my prediction that teachers from entrepreneurial backgrounds would be more professional than teachers from bureaucratic backgrounds.

Whereas the prejob socialization variables of social class background and religious affiliation have more or less similar effects on the professionalism of men and women, experiences in the work context tend to produce differences among men only. I predicted that a professional working climate and middle class students, advanced professional training, participation in professional associations, and informal relations with colleagues represent social situations which promote and sustain professionalism. The social class backgrounds of students show some interesting variations in their effect on men versus women teachers, but none of the relationships is statistically significant.

Advanced training and participation in the American Federation of Teachers (but not in the National Education Association) have relatively strong and positive effects on men's professionalism. Colleague relations are also strongly related to professionalism, but not as an independent variable; men who interact extensively with their colleagues tend to be more professional when they enter teaching. Finally, the intellectual skills required and emphasized by academic subject matter make men more professional than those required and emphasized by nonacademic subject matter.

Of these work-context variables, only advanced professional training has a statistically significant effect on women's professionalism. In short, where men need participation in professional activities, social contact with colleagues, and academic subject matter to support a high level of professionalism, women do not. The strong, positive, prejob impact of women's sex and family roles apparently limits the effect of these work-context variables on their professionalism.[1]

Finally, turning to organizational performance, professionalism has a strong positive effect on job effectiveness, but weak and statistically nonsignificant effects on proceduralism and overtime. The data on each of these dependent variables are based on self-reports, however, and their limitations should be recognized.

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[1] It is commonly assumed that with increasing specialization in occupational roles, requiring, in turn, lengthy periods of formal training--in short, as job-related socialization becomes more extensive--background variables will have a decreasing effect on persons' orientations toward work. There is little evidence for such a trend in my data. Among women, especially, the effects of work-context variables are negligible. On the other hand, a comparison of middle class, Protestant women with working class, Catholic men (see Table 13) shows a 38 percent difference in professionalism.

TABLE 37

PROBABILITY VALUES OF MAIN FINDINGS

Hypothesis	Professionalism	Men	Women
1.1	By sex role (Table 2)		
	among single teachers	.02(2-t)	.02(2-t)
	among married teachers	.14(2-t)	.14(2-t)
1.2	By social class (Table 7)	.13(1-t)* t = .07	.004(1-t)* t = .22
	Career plans (social mobility) by social class background (Table 9)	.001(1-t)* t = .20	Not applicable
	By career plans and controlling for social class background (Table 10)	.10(1-t)*	Not applicable
1.3	By religion (Table 11)	.14(1-t)*	.005(1-t)*
	By religion, among those who attend church weekly (Table 12)	.02(1-t)*	.01(1-t)*
	By religion, controlling for social class background (Table 13)	.07(1-t)*	.03(1-t)*
1.4	By integration setting (Table 16)	.18(1-t)*	.15(2-t)
	By integration setting, controlling for social class and religion (Table 17)	.16(1-t)*	.45(1-t)*

*In expected direction

TABLE 37 -- (Continued)

Hypothesis	Professionalism	Men			Women		
		% High Prof. Past	% High Prof. Present	NIP	% High Prof. Past	% High Prof. Present	NIP
2.1	By subject matter (Table 18)	1.00(2-t)[a]	.08(1-t)*	.04(1-t)* t=.10	.43(2-t)	.14(1-t)*	.31(1-t)* t=.04
2.2	By professional climate (Table 22)	1.00(2-t) t= -.05	.12(1-t)* t=.43	.12(1-t)* t=.43	.56(2-t) t=.24	1.00(2-t) t= -.05	.77(2-t) t= -.09
	By professional climate, controlling for median income of census tract (Table 22)	t= -.07	t=.44*	t=.44*	t=.32	t=.42*	t=.42*
	By median income of census tract (Table 22)	1.00(2-t) t=.05	.20(1-t)* t=.33	.20(1-t)* t=.33	.40(2-t) t=.12	.40(2-t) t= -.33	.30(2-t) t= -.38
	By median income of census tract, controlling for professional climate (Table 22)	t=.10	t=.06*	t=.06*	t= -.01	t= -.60	t= -.64
2.3	By advanced training (Table 23)	.25(2-t) t= -.06	.15(1-t)* t=.06	.01(1-t)* t=.11	.81(2-t) t=.02	.12(1-t)* t=.09	.05(1-t)* t=.10
2.4	By participation in AFT (Table 25)	.86(2-t) t= -.01	.04(1-t)* t=.12	.02(1-t)* t=.12	.67(2-t) t=.04	.23(1-t)* t=.07	.33(1-t)* t=.07

*In expected direction

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[a] I assumed that there would be no relationship between the independent variables and past professionalism. P values for this measure of professionalism are, therefore, based on 2-tailed tests.

TABLE 37 -- (Continued)

Hypothesis	Professionalism	Men % High Prof. Past	Men % High Prof. Present	Men NIP	Women % High Prof. Past	Women % High Prof. Present	Women NIP
2.4	By participation in NEA (Table 25)	.64(2-t) t= -.05	.15(1-t)* t=.09	.08(1-t)* t=.13	.56(2-t) t=.07	.94(2-t) t= -.01	.74(2-t) t= -.03
	By AFT vs. NEA, among Low participants (Table 25)	.35(2-t)	.54(2-t)	.13(1-t)* t=.19	.03(2-t)	.12(1-t)*	.11(1-t)* t=.23
	By AFT vs. NEA, among Medium participants (Table 25)	.62(2-t)	.40(2-t)	.56(2-t) t= -.02	.85(2-t)	.43(1-t)*	.90(2-t) t= -.01
	By AFT vs. NEA, among High participants (Table 25)	.64(2-t)	.42(2-t)	.42(1-t)* t=.01	.49(2-t)	.14(1-t)*	.07(1-t)* t=.24
2.5	By colleague relations (Table 26)	.18(2-t) t=.08	.001(1-t)* t=.22	.70(2-t) t= -.02	.47(2-t) t=.06	.23(1-t)* t=.07	.60(2-t) t= -.07
3.1	Job effectiveness by professionalism (Table 31)		.001(1-t)* t = .15			.04(1-t)* t = .10	
3.2	Proceduralism by professionalism (Table 33)		.94(2-t) t= -.004			.07(1-t)* t = .11	
3.3	Overtime by professionalism (Table 34)		.17(1-t)* t = .04			.21(1-t)* t = .04	

*In expected direction

	Social Origins	Work-context Influences		
	Class Background and Religious Affiliation	Subject Matter Field	Professional Training	Participation in Professional Associations
Men Strong relationship between single men and women (22% difference)	Weak relationship between social class background and professionalism. Tendency for middle class teachers to be more professional is accounted for by concentration of upwardly mobile in working class category, especially among Catholics. Protestants are more professional than Catholics, controlling for social class background and career plans.	Academic teachers more professional. t =.10, 19% difference in NIP	Positive relationship, t =.11, 30% difference in NIP	Positive relationship among AFT members, t =.12, 32% difference in NIP
Women	Protestants and middle class backgrounds have positive effects on professionalism—25% and 69% differences (but not monotonic), respectively.		Positive relationship, t =.10, 51% difference in NIP	

Chart 5. Positive influences on professionalism

Notes: With the exception of social class background for men, only findings statistically significant at the .05 level are included in this chart. The findings on work context are based on NIP.

The professional working climate of the school and the social class background of the students are moderately related to teachers' professionalism, but, because of the small number of schools on which they are based, these differences are not statistically significant.

Generalizability of the Findings

In any research study the social scientist is ultimately faced with the challenge of speculating on the meaning of his findings for other populations in other contexts. In the present study the question has two parts: (1) In what ways do the findings apply to teachers in other school systems? (2) In what ways do the findings apply to professions in general?

My study sample is atypical in several ways. It has a high salary schedule and a low turnover rate compared with other school systems, and the American Federation of Teachers is the majority, rather than the minority, organization. The teachers are younger and less experienced, but they are better trained. The proportion of men teachers is also higher. By considering the effects of these characteristics on professionalism, tentative inferences can be made about the over-all level of professionalism in the sample compared with the national average. For example, the higher level of training should make the system more professional than average, while the higher proportion of men should make it less professional. The sample's over-all level of professionalism, however, is less important in the present study than the internal relationships between professionalism and other variables. And this is a more complicated problem.

While cautioning against the indiscriminate extension of the findings to other populations of secondary teachers, there is no obvious reason to suspect that they are any more atypical than findings based on any other sample. The reader is invited, however, to draw his own conclusions.

Turning to elementary level teachers and to other professions, the effects of religious affiliation and social class background are likely to apply generally, with the prestige level of the profession determining the upper limit in the social class origins of its careerists. Advanced training, participation in professional associations, and integration into the colleague community should also have comparable effects. Sex role, however, is more problematic. Women's lesser emphasis on upward mobility is likely to make them generally more professional than men. But the skills and orientations emphasized by the mother and wife role may be less transferrable to traditionally "male" professions such as physician, lawyer, and engineer than they are to traditionally "female" professions such as teacher, social worker, nurse, and librarian. Sharp differences in the career orientations of men (and women) selected by "male" and "female" professions must also be considered. Compare, for example, the male surgeon with the male librarian, the female surgeon with the female librarian, in terms of the kinds of men and women who become surgeons and librarians.

Subject matter specialty does not apply directly to other professions, but it is reasonable to expect that variations in intellectual skills and specialized training within a profession would also produce differences in professionalism between specialties.

Trends in Variables Investigated in This Study

What do the findings of this study indicate about the future of professionalism in teaching? Three social origin variables (sex role, social class background, and religion) and two work-context variables (subject matter and advanced training) are examined. Integration setting and the three remaining work-context variables (working climate and social-economic level of students, participation in professional associations, and colleague relations) are not included either because they are not related to professionalism or because trend data are not available.

Sex Composition. Teaching, especially on the secondary level, has attracted an increasing proportion of men in recent decades (see Table 38). About half of the nation's secondary school teachers are men.

TABLE 38

DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS BY SEX, 1929-30 TO 1955-56[a]

Year	Elementary Grades			Secondary Grades		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1929-30	10%	90%	100% (702,000)	35%	65%	100% (235,000)
1939-40	11%	89%	100% (640,000)	42%	58%	100% (330,000)
1949-50	9%	91%	100% (666,000)	44%	56%	100% (366,000)
1955-56	13%	87%	100% (723,000)	49%	51%	100% (405,000)

[a] Source: Adapted from U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistical Summary of Education, 1951-52," in *Biennial Study of Education in the United States, 1950-52* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), Table 7 in Chap. 1, p. 11. Also "Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56; Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances," in *Biennial Study of Education in the United States, 1955-56* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), Table 10 in Chap. 2, p. 46.

Since my data show that women are more professionally oriented than men, an increasing proportion of men teachers would have a negative effect on the over-all level of professionalism.

Social Class Background. The decrease in the proportion of farmers in the total labor force in the past five decades is balanced by a corresponding increase in middle class, white collar occupations. In my sample and among teachers, generally, the decrease in the proportion from farm backgrounds is balanced mainly by an increase in the proportion of teachers from working class backgrounds and, among women, from upper middle class backgrounds.

According to the evidence in Chapter III, an increasing proportion of working class, and therefore upwardly mobile, teachers would have a negative effect on the level of professionalism in the total population of teachers.

Other trends, however, may counter the image of teaching as a vehicle for social mobility for persons from working class backgrounds. The growth of a public image of teachers as specialists performing an important, technical task may begin to attract more noncareerist, professionally oriented persons from all social class strata. A complementary trend, the expansion of opportunities in other low-level professions, for example, engineering, facilitated by the availability of low-cost public college education and financial aid to students, may siphon off a number of upwardly mobile careerists from working class backgrounds who in past years would have enrolled in a teachers' college and gone into teaching.

Religious Affiliation. Two questions must be answered about religious trends in American society before their effects on professionalism can be considered. First, is a revival actually taking place in religious affiliation and interest? Second, what is the trend in the relative distribution of the major religious groups? The answers to neither of these questions are clear-cut.

With regard to the first question, several writers argue that quantitative and qualitative changes are taking place in American religion. They note a gradual growth in religious affiliation, until today more Americans attend church than ever before. They also note a change in the qualitative character of religion, from fervent transcendentalism to more "social" church going.[1] Others challenge these statements.[2]

Trend data in the relative distribution of Catholics and Protestants are also difficult to evaluate because the definition of a church member varies among religions. Catholics and Jews, for example, report every person born in the faith, regardless of age and religious participation, while most Protestant denominations report only those adults who have joined the church.

Since the answers to neither question regarding religious trends can be verified, and since, furthermore, these trends may or may not be reproduced among teachers, it is not possible to infer their effects on professionalism. Insofar as working class persons are disproportionately Catholic, however, the increasing trend in recruitment from this stratum means an increase in the proportion of Catholic teachers, thereby assuring their depressing effect on the level of professionalism.[1]

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[1] See Jane S. Zahn (ed.), Religion and the Face of America (Berkeley: University Extension, University of California, 1959), for a collection of papers on these and related issues.

[2] Seymour Martin Lipset, "Religion in America: What Religious Revival?" Columbia University Forum, II (Winter, 1959), 17-21.

Subject Matter Field. A major controversy concerning the proper goals of American education, especially at the secondary level, has been between those emphasizing subject matter and intellectual training and those emphasizing "life adjustment". The former view is represented in its most extreme form by the traditional curriculum of the Latin Grammar School; the latter view, by the proponents of progressive education in the 1920's and 1930's. This distinction can be seen in the kinds of subjects emphasized. In academic subjects such as English, foreign languages, the sciences and mathematics the skills emphasized are more congruent with the "3 R's" tradition. Nonacademic subjects such as physical education, industrial arts, and home economics support the life adjustment philosophy.

This does not mean that academic subjects reflect exclusively the "3 R's" tradition and nonacademic subjects, the life adjustment school; either philosophy may permeate and influence behavior in either type of subject. But the traditional academic subjects are less acceptable to the tenets of the life adjustment school than, say, physical education ("teamwork" and "good sportsmanship"), home economics ("family living" and "wise parenthood") and driver training (driver "safety" and "courtesy").

---

[1] Since there are only four Jewish teachers in my sample, I have no data on Jews' professionalism. My guess is that the Judaic emphasis on scholarship, which ties in with the professional emphasis on competence and intellectual skills, makes Jews closer to Protestants in professionalism than to Catholics (see Durkheim, op. cit., pp. 167-170).

What is the present state of this controversy? The battle is not over, but the "crisis" in American education has accelerated an already developing countertrend away from the "soft", "coddling" high school curriculum, and toward the "tough", "let's-teach-them-how-to-think" approach represented by the "3 R's" philosophy. Although mathematics, the natural sciences, and foreign languages have been the most direct benefactors of this countertrend, the renewed emphasis on "intellectual training", "creativity", and "training in communications skills" is spilling over into other academic subjects, such as English and social studies, and into the high school curriculum generally.

Since the exercise of intellectual skills is a characteristic of a profession, the re-emphasis on the "3 R's" philosophy should promote the growth of professionalism in teaching. Another way this trend will promote professionalism is by increasing the proportion of teachers of academic subjects, who are more professional than nonacademic teachers.

Advanced Professional Training. Despite a critical shortage of teachers on the national level, teachers today are better trained than ever before in terms of the number of years of training and degrees earned.[1] This trend has been reinforced since Sputnik by a vast program of foundation and government grants encouraging teachers to continue their training in intensive, advanced curricula. Although, again, these programs are generally concentrated in mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign languages, all fields are affected. Since intensive, specialized training is an important component of professionalism and a necessary prerequisite for raising standards and for supporting the teacher's claim to exclusive competence and autonomy, then this trend should raise the general level of professionalism among secondary school teachers.[1]

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[1] "The Status of American Public School Teachers," loc. cit.

The relative effects on professionalism of each of the trends are summarized in Chart 6. Two criteria are used to evaluate their strength. The first is the sharpness of the trends and the probability of their perpetuation, e.g., the increase in the training of teachers in the past two or three decades is, in my judgment, sharper and more likely to continue than the increase in the proportion of teachers from working class backgrounds. The second criterion is the degree to which each of these independent variables is related to professionalism. The effect on professionalism, in the third column, is the product of the values assigned to the two criteria.

By subtracting the minuses from the pluses, the table yields a positive net effect on professionalism. The prediction is crudely speculative. It is vulnerable on at least three counts. (1) Since it depends on the extrapolation of past trends into the future, the failure of any of these trends to materialize may upset the prediction. (2) It does not consider structural trends involving these variables. For example, the gradual transformation of teaching into a "male" profession may have consequences for its professionalization which are independent of the

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[1] Some possible negative effects of the current crisis on professionalism should not be ignored, however. First, public "concern" is often translated into "interference." Second, the critical shortage of teachers in the next decade could force the utilization of less trained teachers. The solution to the second problem lies in the effective utilization of subprofessional assistants, thus upgrading teachers. Compare physicians' utilization of auxiliary medical specialists such as nurses, x-ray technicians, and nutritionists.

CHART 6

EFFECTS OF TRENDS ON FUTURE LEVEL OF PROFESSIONALISM

Trend	Strength of Trend	Degree of Relationship between Variable and Professionalism	Effect on Professionalism
Sex composition: an increasing proportion of men	+	- -	- -
Social class background: an increasing proportion of teachers from working class	+	- -	- -
Religion: no reliable data on trends	?	+	?
Curriculum trend: emphasis on intellectual training and academic subjects	+	++	++
Advanced training: more training for teachers	++	++	++++

level of professionalism of its individual members. (3) A simple projection of trends, variable by variable, may be helpful as a first step in predicting the future level of professionalism. But, like any simple "trait analysis", it misses the effects of their dynamic interrelations.

A Trend in the Administration of School Districts

The focus of the present study is professionalism as an *orientation* toward the work situation. Although certain segments of the recruitment base and certain roles and experiences in the work situation are more likely to promote a professional orientation than others (as shown in

Chapters III and IV), professional orientations are not likely to achieve any prominent level among practitioners, in general, unless they are promoted and buttressed by structural conditions relating the occupational group as a whole to the society. An analysis of the professional potentialities of an occupation is therefore incomplete without a consideration of the structural conditions that impede or facilitate the process. I turn now to an analysis of such a trend and its implications for the professionalization of teaching.[1]

One of the most important characteristics of a profession is a broad range of autonomy for both the individual practitioner and the profession as a whole vis-a-vis the community. This autonomy is exercised in a wide variety of situations: in the performance of the professional task, e.g., what to teach and how to teach it, and in determining training requirements and grounds for expulsion from the profession.

Teachers have little to recommend them as professionals on these points. They are extremely vulnerable, especially in small communities, on what and how to teach, a clear infringement of their claim to exclusive professional competence. They exercise no control through a professional association over professional training, certification, and expulsion.[2]

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[1] Other trends--the growth of specialization, bureaucracy, and science in modern industrial society--also promote the professionalization of work roles, but they are not specific to teaching and therefore not discussed here, as such. For a discussion of these trends, see Wilensky and Lebeaux, op. cit.

[2] See Lieberman, op. cit., pp. 87-184.

Teachers' claims to professional autonomy from the administration and the local community are little honored. Part of the problem is that teachers themselves explicitly abnegate this claim. The NEA Code of Ethics states, among other things, that "the teacher will . . . recognize that the public schools belong to the people of the community, encourage lay participation in shaping the purposes of the school . . . respect the community in which he is employed and *be loyal to the school system, community, state and nation* . . ." (emphasis mine). Loyalty to the profession is not included. These statements are obviously not causes, but reflections, of an existing situation.

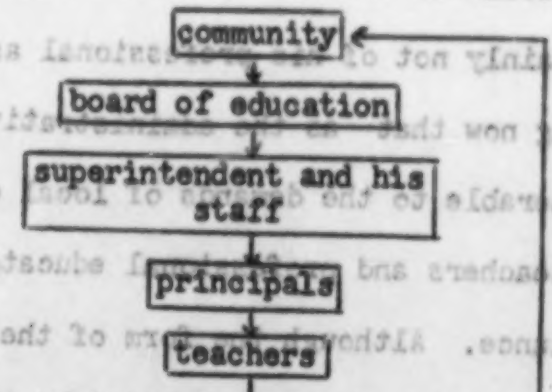
The Code goes one step further. It brings not only the teacher's occupational behavior, but also his nonoccupational behavior under community regulation: ". . . the teacher will adhere to any *reasonable* pattern of behavior accepted by the community for professional persons" (emphasis mine). "Unreasonable" behavior may mean, especially in smaller communities, smoking, drinking, dancing, dating, being an active Democrat or Republican, or joining the NAACP. Not only is this an abnegation of professionalism, but of full citizenship as well.

Exhortations by educators that relationships between teachers and the community, via the school board, the superintendent, and the principal, operate in a "friendly, co-operative, and constructive manner" serve merely to disguise the actual power structure. "Co-operation" and "participation" degenerate into euphemisms for polite, and sometimes impolite, coercion.

This is the typical situation. It is suggested below that a trend toward increasing the size of local administrative units may "free" the teacher from the authority of the lay community and, in turn, from the authority of his administrative superiors.

The operation of the public school is generally the responsibility of a local school district under the jurisdiction of a board of education. Board membership ranges from three to nine members, generally elected by the community in special school elections. In the majority of cases the members serve without pay. In some cases, especially in metropolitan areas, the boundaries of the school district correspond with those of a political unit, but the great majority (88 percent) of the school districts are not identified with any political unit.[1]

Questions of policy are the responsibility of the board of education; questions of administration are the responsibility of the administrative staff, i.e., the superintendent and the principals. It is not necessary to elaborate upon the difficulty of distinguishing "policy" from "administration". The lines of responsibility look like this:



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[1] U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56 . . .", *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

A major trend in school administration during the past few decades has been the steady growth, as a result of reorganization and consolidation, in the size of school districts; the number of school districts in the nation declined from 127,422 in 1932 to 54,773 in 1956.[1]

What does this trend mean for professional autonomy for teachers? The argument is that growth in the size of the unit over which power and authority are exercised "frees" the teacher from control by his immediate, local community and promotes his autonomy. This argument seemingly contradicts a basic principle in the study of power relations; namely, that centralization of authority means less autonomy for the component units. The principle is too general, however, and overlooks an important point.

When one speaks of teacher autonomy, he must specify with respect to what agencies of control. The argument presented here refers to teacher autonomy vis-a-vis the local community and the administrative hierarchy. The physician is autonomous of the community and the hospital superintendent, certainly not of his professional association and his colleagues. Assuming now that as the administrative unit grows larger, it becomes less vulnerable to the demands of local communities, this process also frees teachers and professional educators from community control and surveillance. Although the form of the authority structure remains the same (a board of education elected by the public, which is the ultimate source of authority), the board becomes less vulnerable to the demands of the now expanded district and more receptive to professional leadership by administrators and teachers, alike. It is no accident that both administrators and teachers are more autonomous vis-a-vis the community in large metropolitan areas than they are in small cities. A heterogeneity of expectations, or pressures, which tend to cancel each other out, together with anonymity surrounding personal behavior, are correlates of size of school district[1] that actually insulate and protect the teacher from community control. Of course, other conditioning factors should also be kept in mind, e.g., population density, the number of schools, and how the school budget is voted upon (voting on the budget item-by-item versus voting on it as a whole).

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[1] Ibid., Table 5.

Although this discussion has emphasized teachers' autonomy vis-a-vis the community, the importance of their autonomy vis-a-vis the administration (the principal and the superintendent) should not be ignored. An increase in the former is likely to contribute to an increase in the latter. The principal and the superintendent, less vulnerable to community pressures, would be in a position to "tolerate" more professional behavior by the teachers.

As the unit grows larger--it may eventually reach the state, or even the Federal level--professional educators, responsible to the public, but not constantly hamstrung by it, may move into a position to assume important professional responsibilities such as control over professional training and accreditation that are now exercised by nonprofessionals. The exact process by which these administrative changes will come about is, of course, another matter and beyond the scope of this discussion.

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[1] Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 207-210, 235-237, report a negative relationship between size of community and consensus on the role of superintendent, both within the school board and between the school board and the superintendent.

These developments would go against a century-and-a-half tradition of local control of public education. Defenders of local control will see the growth of administrative units as a step toward Federal control over education and creeping centralism. Federal welfare services such as social security were also resisted, however, on these same grounds.

In Education and Sociology,[1] Durkheim states:

> If, as we have tried to establish, education has a collective function above all, if its object is to adapt the child to the social milieu in which he is destined to live, it is impossible that society should be uninterested in such a procedure . . . since [society] is the reference point by which education must direct its action.

The professionalization of teachers does not deny the role of society as "the reference point by which education must direct its action." It does, however, require that society recognize teachers as specialists possessing expert knowledge in matters that pertain to educating children; that, on this basis, teachers must claim and must be given more autonomy for the effective performance of their roles. The trends examined in this chapter offer some hope for the development of such a professional climate.

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[1] Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), p. 79.

APPENDIX A

INDICES AND OTHER MEASURES

Social Class Background

The social class background of the respondent was coded mainly according to his father's occupation (U. S. Census Occupation Categories were used to code occupation). With the few exceptions indicated, this was done as follows (adapted from Miller and Swanson, op. cit., pp. 81-82):

Occupation of Father	Social Class
Professionals, technical, and kindred workers (except the following, who were coded lower middle class: teachers, nurses, engineers, and accountants not having college degrees; also, other "low-level" professionals such as photographers, draftsmen, and morticians) Managers and officials (except the following, who were coded lower middle class: "low-level" managers such as postmasters, railroad conductors, and traffic managers) Proprietors (except the following, who were coded lower middle class: owners of small businesses--usually two- or three-man retail shops--and those earning less than $10,000 annually)	Upper middle
Clerical and kindred workers Salesworkers (except the following, who were coded in upper middle class: salesmen earning more than $10,000)	Lower middle
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	Upper working
Operatives and kindred workers Service workers (except the following, who were coded in lower middle class: firemen, policemen, and investigators)	Lower working
Farmers Occupation not ascertained	Class not ascertained

A few other exceptions were made, in addition to those indicated in the code, on the basis of wide discrepancies between occupation, income, and education.

Subjective Intergenerational Mobility

Subjective intergenerational mobility was measured by comparing the respondent's answers to his own subjective social class membership to that of his parents'. The two items are:

68. People sometimes talk about the kinds of social classes in American communities. In your opinion, which one of these terms comes closest to describing the class you now belong to?

____ (1) Upper class
____ (2) Upper-middle class
____ (3) Lower-middle class
____ (4) Working class
____ (5) Lower class

69. What about your family when you were under 21--in your opinion, which term best describes the class that your parents belonged to?

____ (1) Upper class
____ (2) Upper-middle class
____ (3) Lower-middle class
____ (4) Working class
____ (5) Lower class

If a respondent's answers to both items were the same, he was classified as"stable". If his present class membership is higher than his parents', his mobility was classified as upward; if lower, his mobility was downward.

Index of Participation in Professional Associations

A measure of participation in either the AFT or the NEA was computed by counting one point for membership and one point for each meeting attended during the year (see Question 34 in questionnaire in Appendix B).

Distribution of Scores	N
None (0)	54
AFT	
Low (1)	44
Medium (2-10)	175
High (11+)	96
NEA	
Low (1)	25
Medium (2-10)	79
High (11+)	17
Total	490[a]

[a] Twenty-seven teachers did not answer the question and 28 were eliminated because they belonged to both the AFT and the NEA.

Colleague Relations Index

An index measuring the degree to which the teacher associates informally with other teachers was constructed according to his responses to two items. The number of points assigned to each answer is indicated in brackets; the points from each question were simply added to give a total score--the higher the score, the greater the degree of contact with teacher colleagues.

37. A. Think of your three closest friends. In the table below please record the following information for each of these friends (count a married couple as one friend):

In column 1: his first name only, so we don't get them mixed up

In column 2: his occupation (e.g., "social worker", "factory foreman", "Latin teacher"); if he is a teacher, give the subjects he teaches (e.g., "English teacher")

In column 3: where you know him from (e.g., from work, neighborhood, teachers' organization, college)

In column 4: how long you have known him

In column 5: roughly how many times you have seen him, apart from work, in the past month

In column 6: If you know him from the school where you teach: roughly how many times you have had a chance to talk with him at work in the past month

Number of teachers among three closest friends

None . . . . (0 points)
One . . . . (2 points)
Two . . . . (4 points)
Three . . . (6 points)

B. In general, with whom do you spend more of your free time--with teachers or with people in other occupations?

____ (1) With teachers . . . . (3 points)
____ (2) With people in other occupations . . . . . (1 point)
____ (3) About evenly divided between teachers and people in other occupations . . . . (2 points)

Distribution of Scores		N
Low	(1)	60
	(2-4)	175
	(5-6)	132
	(7-8)	93
High	(9)	54
Total		514[a]

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[a] Thirty-one teachers with a nonresponse in one or both items were not assigned a score.

Job Effectiveness

Job effectiveness was measured by averaging the respondent's self-ratings in eight different areas of performance. The distribution of average scores was trichotomized into "High" (1.0 to 1.9), "Medium" (2.0 to 2.5) and "Low" (2.6 to 3.9). The question was:

33. Every teacher has his strengths and his weaknesses. He is usually more effective in doing some things in his work than he is in doing other things. The row of boxes opposite each item below represents a range of effectiveness from very effective to very ineffective. Please place an X in the box opposite each item that best indicates your judgment of the effectiveness of your behavior in that area. [Very effective (1), effective (2), Fairly effective (3), Ineffective (4), and Very ineffective (5).]

How effective are you in:

1. Working with parents and parent groups
2. Keeping your students under control
3. Working with fellow staff members
4. Communicating and stimulating your students' interest in the subject matter that you teach
5. Working with students and meeting their needs
6. Identifying and developing school goals
7. Working with the school administration
8. Working with community groups

Distribution of Scores	N
Low (2.6 - 3.9)	210
Medium (2.0 - 2.5)	187
High (1.0 - 1.9)	146
Total	543

APPENDIX B

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY AND QUESTIONNAIRE

The Introduction

Before distributing the questionnaires to groups of teachers the staff member gave the following introduction:

> My name is __________, and I represent the University of Michigan. As you know, the United States Office of Education has requested the University of Michigan to do this study.
>
> Briefly, there are three major objectives to this study:
>
> First, what is there about teaching that attracts people to this kind of work? We are trying to find out the attitudes and feelings that people bring with them to their jobs.
>
> Second, are teachers likely to change their feelings about teaching after a number of years on the job; and, if so, what kinds of changes take place?
>
> Third, do these different attitudes about teaching fit in with what we call career patterns--who are most likely to stay in education, and, if so, in what kinds of jobs?
>
> Now, it's from these questionnaires that we hope to find some of the answers to these objectives. It's obvious, therefore, that the value of this study depends a great deal on the care and frankness with which you fill out each item in the questionnaire.
>
> To encourage this frankness, we would like to emphasize that the questionnaires are completely anonymous. Please do NOT put your name anywhere on the questionnaire. The results will be reported in group form only. No individuals or schools will be identified in any report.
>
> Next, this is NOT a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We want you to answer the way things seem to you personally. That is, what is the best description of your feelings?
>
> Now, in regard to filling out the questionnaire.
>
> Some questions can be answered by a simple check mark, and others ask you to write in a brief answer. For any question, however, please feel free to write in any comments or ideas you want to add.
>
> Now, I'd like to call your attention to a few questions: In question 1, if you cannot describe your present assignment in terms of subject and grade, please write in whatever you do.... In question 4 on page 2, do not spend too much time on this. What we specifically want is the major changes in your major occupational activities. Please note that in some questions, such as 9 on page 4, be sure to check an answer for each line.
>
> Next, please answer all the questions that apply to you. Do not skip around. If there's anything that isn't clear, don't hesitate to ask me.
>
> Finally, the questionnaire takes about an hour to complete. Some will take longer and others will take less time. Feel free to take all the time you want. When you have completed the questionnaire, hand it in to me, and then you are through. Thank you for your cooperation.

December 1958

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

TEACHERS' CAREER PATTERNS STUDY

This is a study of the goals and careers of the junior high school and senior high school teachers in a public school system. The study is being done in the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan; it is being financed by the U.S. Office of Education as a part of its research on the problem of recruiting and keeping qualified teachers.

All the teachers on the junior and senior high school level in your school system are being asked to cooperate and fill out this questionnaire. Your replies will be held completely confidential. As soon as all the questionnaires are filled in, they will be taken to the University of Michigan where they will be tabulated and studied by the research staff. The results will be reported in summary form only; no individual teachers will be identified.

The final value of this research study depends upon the frankness and care with which you answer the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.
2. Please answer all the questions that apply to you - and in order. Do not skip around.
3. Many of the questions can be answered with one or more check-marks. If you want to add an explanation or comment, you are encouraged to do so; use the margin or the back of the questionnaire.
4. If something in the questionnaire is not clear, ask the University of Michigan representative who is helping with the questionnaires.
5. Please answer frankly according to your own opinions. Do not consult with other people.

(NOTE: Please disregard the numbers in parentheses in the left-hand margin. They are to help us punch the answers on IBM cards.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

1. First, something about your present job. What subject(s) and what grade(s) are you teaching this semester (e.g., 10th grade English and 11th grade social studies) ?

(1:9_) ____

(1:10_) ____

2. Do you have any other jobs or assignments as a teacher in your school (e.g., coaching, supervising extracurricular activities, administrative responsibilities, such as department chairman, etc.) ?

(1:11_) __(1)Yes __(2)No

(If Yes) Please describe these jobs or assignments: ________________

____

____

3. Do you work in any part-time jobs outside of school?

(1:12_) __(1)Yes __(2)No

(If Yes) Please describe these jobs: ________________________

____

(1:13__) 4. **What jobs have you held? In the table below record every full-time job you have had, starting with your first job since you were 18, up to and including your present job. Include both teaching and non-teaching jobs. Do not include summer jobs. Please record all of the information asked about each listing. Also, account for time in the armed forces, raising a family, etc.**

Inclusive dates	Exact title and description of work (if teaching, give subjects and grade levels taught)	Name & location of school or firm	Annual salary a. entering b. final
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.

Any additional comments or explanations?

____

____

NOW LET'S GO BACK:

(1:14__) 5. When did you decide to become a teacher?

__(1) When I was in high school or before
__(2) After I graduated from high school, but before I entered college
__(3) During my first two years in college
__(4) During my last two years in college
__(5) After I graduated from college

(1:15__) (1:16__) (1:17__) 6. Thinking back to the time when you first began to teach, what things or activities in your life were most important to you then?

(Place a "1" next to the most important activity, a "2" next to the second most important activity, and a "3" next to the third most important activity.)

__(1) My marriage and my family life
__(2) My work
__(3) Participating in activities directed toward national betterment
__(4) My leisure time activities and hobbies

(1:18__) (1:19__) 7. When you first began to teach, what were the main problems you ran into in doing your job the way you thought it should be done?

____

____

____

____

____

(1:20__) 8. What were your plans when you first began to teach? (Check one)

__(1) To leave the education field altogether for a job in something else
__(2) To leave teaching and raise a family, then to return to teaching
__(3) To leave teaching and raise a family, and not to return to teaching
__(4) To become a principal eventually
__(5) To become a school superintendent eventually
__(6) To continue to teach until I retired
__(7) To stay in education, but to change jobs eventually (Please specify kinds of changes you were thinking of): ______________________________

____

__(8) Other (please specify): ______________________________

9. A. People have different ideas about what is important in a job. In the table below please check off each of the items according to how important it was to you in a job when you first began to teach.

How important was this to you in a job when you first began to teach?

		Necessary (1)	Very important (3)	Fairly important (5)	Not too important (7)
(1:21_)	a. Chance to work with students who are more intelligent and more motivated than usual . .	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:22_)	b. Chance to rise to a high position in the system I work in	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:23_)	c. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:24_)	d. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:25_)	e. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:26_)	f. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:27_)	g. Having a job that has prestige in the teaching profession	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:28_)	h. Chance to work in a system with a curriculum that I agree with	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:29_)	i. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me - my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:30_)	j. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:31_)	k. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:32_)	l. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:33_)	m. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:34_)	n. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:35_)	o. Chance to work with new ideas in my subject matter field	☐	☐	☐	☐

PLEASE GO BACK TO THOSE ITEMS THAT YOU HAVE CHECKED "NECESSARY" OR "VERY IMPORTANT", AND CIRCLE THAT ITEM THAT WAS THE MOST NECESSARY OR IMPORTANT TO YOU IN A JOB WHEN YOU FIRST BEGAN TO TEACH.

9. B. Thinking about the present, please check off each of the same items according to how important it is to you in a job now.

		How important is this to you in a job now? Necessary (1)	Very important (3)	Fairly important (5)	Not too important (7)
(1:36__)	a. Chance to work with students who are more intelligent and more motivated than usual . .	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:37__)	b. Chance to rise to a high position in the system I work in	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:38__)	c. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:39__)	d. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:40__)	e. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:41__)	f. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:42__)	g. Having a job that has prestige in the teaching profession	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:43__)	h. Chance to work in a system with a curriculum that I agree with	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:44__)	i. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me - my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:45__)	j. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:46__)	k. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:47__)	l. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:48__)	m. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:49__)	n. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1:50__)	o. Chance to work with new ideas in my subject matter field	☐	☐	☐	☐

PLEASE GO BACK TO THOSE ITEMS THAT YOU HAVE CHECKED "NECESSARY" OR "VERY IMPORTANT", AND CIRCLE THAT ITEM THAT IS THE MOST NECESSARY OR IMPORTANT TO YOU IN A JOB NOW.

9. C. Finally, how satisfied are you with these things? Please check off each of the same items according to how satisfied you are with these things in your present job as a teacher.

How satisfied are you with this in your present job as a teacher?

		Very satisfied (1)	Fairly satisfied (3)	Not too satisfied (5)
(1:51_)	a. Chance to work with students who are more intelligent and more motivated than usual .	☐	☐	☐
(1:52_)	b. Chance to rise to a high position in the system I work in	☐	☐	☐
(1:53_)	c. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	☐	☐	☐
(1:54_)	d. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐
(1:55_)	e. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐
(1:56_)	f. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐
(1:57_)	g. Having a job that has prestige in the teaching profession	☐	☐	☐
(1:58_)	h. Chance to work in a system with a curriculum that I agree with	☐	☐	☐
(1:59_)	i. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me - my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐
(1:60_)	j. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐
(1:61_)	k. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐
(1:62_)	l. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐
(1:63_)	m. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐
(1:64_)	n. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐
(1:65_)	o. Chance to work with new ideas in my subject matter field	☐	☐	☐

AGAIN, THINKING ABOUT THE PRESENT:

(1:66_) (1:67_) 10. No job is perfect and teaching, like any other kind of job, has its frustrations. Apart from salary, what bothers you most about your job as a teacher?

____

____

____

____

____

11. What are the main problems you run into in doing your job the way you think it should be done?

____

____

____

____

____

(1:68_) 12. Have you ever thought of leaving teaching?

__(1)Yes __(7)No

(If Yes) When was the last time you considered leaving teaching?

__(2) Within the past year
__(3) More than a year ago, up to five years
__(4) Between five and ten years ago
__(5) More than ten years ago

(1:69_) Did you have any interviews for other than teaching jobs at that time?

__(1)Yes __(2)No

(1:70_) 13. What kind of work would you go into if you were to leave teaching? What kind of an organization would you work for? ______________

____

(1:71_) 14. If you could begin your career all over again, what would be your first choice? ______________

____

(1:72__) 15. Thinking about the present, what things or activities in your life are
(1:73__) the most important to you?
(1:74__)

(Place a "1" next to the most important activity, a "2" next to the second most important activity, and a "3" next to the third most important activity.)

___(1) My marriage and my family life
___(2) My work
___(3) Participating in activities directed toward national betterment
___(4) My leisure-time activities and hobbies

(1:75__) 16. Suppose you were offered teaching jobs in two different systems. The jobs are exactly alike in everything but the pay and the kind of administration. In system A the administration has a poor reputation among your teaching colleagues and among education professors whose judgment you respect, but the position pays $1,000 more. In system B the administration has a good reputation among your teaching colleagues and among education professors whose judgment you respect, but the position pays $1,000 less. Which job would you choose?

___(1) The job in system A - poor reputation but $1,000 more annually
___(2) The job in system B - good reputation but $1,000 less annually

(If you have chosen system B) How much more would system A have to offer you in order for you to accept the job in system A?

____

____

(1:76__) 17. A. As far as you, yourself, are concerned, which one of the following describes your job best? (Check one)

(1) "Junior high school teacher"
(2) "High school teacher"
(3) "(your subject matter) teacher" (e.g., "industrial arts teacher," "English and social studies teacher")

B. As far as you, yourself, are concerned, of all the things you do on your job as a teacher, what are your two or three most important functions?

(1) My most important function: ______________________________

____

(2) My second most important function: ________________________

____

(3) My third most important function: _________________________

____

(2:10_) 18. Identifying the goals of a secondary education is a difficult and complex problem. Please indicate your own thinking on this problem.

(2:11_)
(2:12_)

(Place a "1" in front of what you think should be the most important goal of secondary education, a "2" in front of the second most important goal, and a "3" next to the third most important goal of secondary education.)

A secondary education should emphasize:

__(1) Subject matter and intellectual training - it should stimulate interest in content and develop ability to think
__(2) Life adjustment - it should meet the individual needs of the students and help them to prepare for adult living (e.g., job training, social skills, family relations)
__(3) Social betterment - it should get students to study and understand the important social problems of our time, and to consider ways to solve these problems; to bring about a better society

(2:13_) 19. What would you say are the two or three most important problems
(2:14_) facing secondary education today? ________________________

____

____

(2:15_) 20.A. Suppose you are considering assigning your classes a "controversial"
(2:16_) book, but you are having difficulty in making up your mind. The opinion
(2:17_) and advice of which person or group would be most important to you in helping you decide?

(Place a "1" in front of the most important, a "2" in front of the second most important, and a "3" in front of the third most important.)

__(1) Other teachers who are teaching the same course
__(2) My principal
__(3) Parents in the community
__(4) Education professors whom I know and respect
__(5) My local teachers' organization
__(6) The school superintendent
__(7) Other teachers who are also my intimate friends
__(8) The school board
__(9) My students

This question continued on next page

(2:18__)
(2:19__)
(2:20__) B. Which person or group is best qualified to make a recommendation on this matter?

(Place a "1" next to the best qualified, a "2" next to the second best qualified, and a "3" next to the third best qualified.)

___(1) Other teachers who are teaching the same course
___(2) My principal
___(3) Parents in the community
___(4) Education professors whom I know and respect
___(5) My local teachers' organization
___(6) The school superintendent
___(7) Other teachers who are also my intimate friends
___(8) The school board
___(9) My students

(2:21__)
(2:22__)
(2:23__) C. Which person or group has the most right to make a recommendation on this matter?

(Place a "1" next to the person or group that has the most right, a "2" next to the second most right, and a "3" next to the third most right.)

___(1) Other teachers who are teaching the same courses
___(2) My principal
___(3) Parents in the community
___(4) Education professors whom I know and respect
___(5) My local teachers' organization
___(6) The school superintendent
___(7) Other teachers who are also my intimate friends
___(8) The school board
___(9) My students

(2:24__) D. Suppose your principal and the education professors give you contradictory advice on this problem. What do you think you would do? (Check one)

___(1) Take the advice of my principal
___(2) Take the advice of the education professors

(2:25__) 21. "The responsibility for making changes in the school curriculum should rest with:" (Check one)

___(1) A committee of teachers
___(2) The principal
___(3) The superintendent
___(4) Parents and community
___(5) The school board
___(6) Other (specify): ______________________________

____

(2:26__) 22. "When it comes to problems of teaching, the community should not interfere and should permit teachers to do their job as they see fit." (Check one)

__(1) I strongly agree
__(2) I agree
__(3) I disagree
__(4) I strongly disagree

(2:27__) 23. "In certain cases I overlook the rules and regulations under which I work when I think they interfere with my more important responsibilities as a teacher. I do this:" (Check one)

__(1) Quite frequently
__(2) Occasionally
__(3) Rarely or never

(2:28__) 24. "I think a teacher owes his first loyalty to:" (Check one)

__(a) His school - his principal and supervisors
__(b) His profession and his colleagues
__(c) Other (please specify): ____________________

(2:29__) 25. "There is nothing sacred about the teaching profession. Teaching is, after all, like any other job." (Check one)

__(1) I strongly agree
__(2) I agree
__(3) I disagree
__(4) I strongly disagree

(2:30__) 26. Over and above a "40-hour week" how much time per week do you devote to your work as a teacher?

__(1) None
__(2) 5-9 hours extra
__(3) 10-19 hours extra
__(4) 20-29 hours extra
__(5) 30 or more

(2:31__) 27. Do you feel that your job as a teacher interferes much with your outside life - such as spending time with your family, hobbies, and doing other things that you enjoy doing? (Check one)

__(1) Yes, my job as a teacher interferes very much with my outside life
__(2) Yes, my job as a teacher interferes somewhat with my outside life
__(3) No, my job as a teacher interferes very little with my outside life

(2:32__) 28. Do you feel that because you are a teacher you are restricted from engaging in certain kinds of activities in your community?

__(1) No - I am not restricted from engaging in certain kinds of activities because I am a teacher.
__(2) Yes - I am restricted from engaging in certain kinds of activities because I am a teacher (please specify kinds of activities): ____________________

____

____

LOOKING AHEAD:

(2:33__) 29. What would you like to be doing 10 or 15 years from now? (Check one)

__(1) To leave the education field altogether for a job in something else
__(2) To leave teaching and raise a family, then to return to teaching later on
__(3) To leave teaching and raise a family, and not to return to teaching later on
__(4) To be a school principal
__(5) To be a school superintendent
__(6) To continue to teach in my present position until I retire
__(7) To stay in education, but to change jobs by then (specify kinds of changes you are thinking of): __________

____

__(8) Other change (Please specify):

____

____

(2:34__) 30. Obviously, we cannot always do just what we like; our hopes do not always work out. What do you expect you will actually be doing 10 or 15 years from now?

__(1) I will have left the education field for a job in something else
__(2) I will have left teaching to raise a family, and probably return to teaching later on
__(3) I will have left teaching to raise a family, and probably not return to teaching later on
__(4) I will be a principal
__(5) I will be a school superintendent
__(6) I will be teaching in my present position
__(7) I will be in education, but I will have changed jobs by then (please specify kinds of changes) ____________________

____
__(8) I will be retired by this time
__(9) Other change (please specify): ____________________

(2:35_) 31. How much do you expect you will be earning 10 or 15 years from now?

__(1) Up to $5,000
__(2) $5,000 to $6,000
__(3) $6,000 to $7,000
__(4) $7,000 to $8,000
__(5) $8,000 to $9,000
__(6) $9,000 to $10,000
__(7) $10,000 to $15,000
__(8) $15,000 to $20,000
__(9) $20,000 or more

(2:36_) 32. If you could change places with anyone in the world - not especially someone you know or have met - whom would you like to be? What kind of work does (he)(she) do? ______________________________

____

____

What do you admire about (him)(her)?

____

____

____

33. Every teacher has his strengths and his weaknesses. He is usually more effective in doing some things in his work than he is in doing other things. The row of boxes opposite each item below represents a range of effectiveness from very effective to very ineffective. Please place an X in the box opposite each item that best indicates your judgment of the effectiveness of your behavior in that area.

	How effective are you in:	Very effective (1)	Effective (2)	Fairly effective (3)	Ineffective (4)	Very ineffective (5)
(2:37_)	1. Working with parents and parent groups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:38_)	2. Keeping your students under control	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:39_)	3. Working with fellow staff members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:40_)	4. Communicating and stimulating your students' interest in the subject matter that you teach .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:41_)	5. Working with students and meeting their needs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:42_)	6. Identifying and developing school goals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:43_)	7. Working with the school administration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(2:44_)	8. Working with community groups .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(2:45_)
(2:46_)
(2:47_)

IN YOUR JUDGMENT, IN WHICH ONE OF EIGHT AREAS ARE YOU MOST EFFECTIVE? PLEASE GO BACK AND CIRCLE THAT NUMBER.

(2:48__) 34. The table below lists different kinds of groups to which you may belong. Please write in the full names of the groups or organizations to which you now belong under the appropriate headings and fill in the information on your present participation in these groups or organizations.
(2:49__)
(2:50__)
(2:51__)
(2:52__)

Name of Groups or Organization	How many meetings per year do you attend? (Give approximate number)	Have you ever been:			
		an officer		on a committee	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
(1) Professional organizations (like the NEA, AFT, and state & local affiliates; other professional groups):					
(2) Business & Civic groups:					
(3) Political clubs or organizations:					
(4) A church or church related group:					
(5) Veterans:					
(6) PTA:					
(7) Sports and athletic:					
(8) Other kinds of groups (specify):					

(2:53__) 35. Do you read any professional journals or periodicals regularly?
(2:54__)

__(1)Yes __(2)NO

(If Yes) Please list the journals or periodicals that you read regularly:

______________________ ______________________
______________________ ______________________
______________________ ______________________

(2:55__) On the average, how much time do you spend reading each journal issue?

__(1) Up to 15 minutes
__(2) Between 15 minutes and an hour
__(3) More than an hour

(2:56__) What kinds of articles and features interest you most?

____
____
____

(2:57__) 36. Have you ever submitted any articles or letters for publication in a professional journal or periodical?

__(1)Yes __(2)No

(If Yes) About how many? ______________________

(2:58__) 37. A. Think of your three closest friends. In the table below please record the following information for each of these friends (count a married couple as one friend):

In column 1: his first name only, so we don't get them mixed up

In column 2: his occupation (e.g., "social worker," "factory foreman," "Latin teacher"); if he is a teacher, give the subjects he teaches (e.g., "English teacher")

In column 3: where you know him from (e.g., from work, neighborhood, teachers' organization, college)

In column 4: how long you have known him

In column 5: roughly how many times you have seen him, apart from work, in the past month

In column 6: If you know him from the school where you teach: roughly how many times you have had a chance to talk with him at work in the past month

	(1) FIRST NAME	(2) OCCUPATION	(3) WHERE KNOW HIM FROM	(4) HOW LONG KNOWN HIM	(5) HOW MANY TIMES SEEN IN PAST MONTH, APART FROM WORK	(6) HOW MANY TIMES TALKED TO AT WORK IN PAST MONTH
1.						
2.						
3.						

(2:59__) B. In general, with whom do you spend more of your free time - with teachers or with people in other occupations?

___(1) With teachers
___(2) With people in other occupations
___(3) About evenly divided between teachers and people in other occupations

38. A. Please record your educational training beyond high school.

Inclusive dates	School or college and location (give full name of insitution)	Degree earned or expected (e.g., B.S., M.S D.Ed.)	Date degree received or expected	Major field	Minor fields

(2:60_) B. How many credits have you earned beyond B.A. or B.S.? __________

(2:61_)

(2:62_) C. How many credits have you earned beyond M.A. or M.S.? __________

(2:63_)

(2:64_) D. Are you taking any university courses this semester?

(2:65_)

(2:66_) __(1)Yes __(2)No

(2:67_) 39. How did you spend last summer? (Check more than one if applicable)

__(1) Took summer courses
__(2) Just relaxed; worked around the house or went on vacation
__(3) Worked (specify kind of work): ____________________
__(4) Other (specify): ______________________________
____

AND FINALLY, SOME INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND:

(3:10_) 40. How old are you? (Check one)

__(1) Under 25 years old
__(2) Between 25 and 29
__(3) Between 30 and 34
__(4) Between 35 and 39
__(5) Between 40 and 44
__(6) Between 45 and 49
__(7) Between 50 and 54
__(8) Between 55 and 59
__(9) 60 or over

(3:11_) 41. Your sex?

__(1) Male
__(2) Female

(3:12_) 42. Are you:

__(1) Single
__(2) Married
__(3) Divorced or separated
__(4) Widowed

(3:13_) 43. If married:

A. How many years have you been married? _____

(3:14_) B. Do you have any children?

__(1)Yes __(2)No

C. (If Yes) How many children do you have at home? What is their age and sex? ____________________

____

(3:15_) D. In what ways, would you say, has your getting married (and having a family) changed your feelings about your job as a teacher?

____

____

____

This question continued on next page

(3:16_) E. How far did your spouse go in school?

___(1) No formal education
___(2) A grade school education
___(3) Some high school
___(4) A high school education
___(5) Some college
___(6) Four years of college
___(7) A Master's degree or equivalent
___(8) A Doctor's degree

(3:17_) F. What is (his)(her) usual occupation (if "teacher", give (his)(her) subject matter field and grade level) ?

____

(3:18_) G. Is (he)(she) now employed?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:19_) (If Yes) What is (his)(her) present salary?

___(1) Up to $3,000
___(2) $3,000 to $4,000
___(3) $4,000 to $5,000
___(4) $5,000 to $6,000
___(5) $6,000 to $7,000
___(6) $7,000 to $8,000
___(7) $8,000 to $9,000
___(8) $9,000 to $10,000
___(9) $10,000 to $15,000
___(10) $15,000 to $20,000
___(11) $20,000 or more

(3:20_) 44. A. What is your present salary as a teacher?

___(1) Up to $5,000
___(2) $5,000 to $6,000
___(3) $6,000 to $7,000
___(4) $7,000 to $8,000
___(5) $8,000 to $9,000
___(6) $9,000 to $10,000
___(7) $10,000 or more

(3:21_) B. What is your total annual income - including your salary, your spouse's salary, income received from rents, interest, etc.?

___(1) Up to $5,000
___(2) $5,000 to $6,000
___(3) $6,000 to $7,000
___(4) $7,000 to $8,000
___(5) $8,000 to $9,000
___(6) $9,000 to $10,000
___(7) $10,000 to $15,000
___(8) $15,000 to $20,000
___(9) $20,000 or more

4

(3:22_) 45. Do you rent your home or do you own it?

___(1) Rent ___(2) Own

(If Rent) Are you planning to buy a home in the near future?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(3:23_) 46. How far did your father go in school?

___(1) No formal education
___(2) A grade school education
___(3) Some high school
___(4) A high school education
___(5) Some college
___(6) Four years of college
___(7) A Master's degree or equivalent
___(8) A Doctor's degree

(3:24_) 47. If your father went beyond high school describe briefly the nature of his education, for example: trade school, business school, four year college, normal school (teacher's college), law school, etc.:

____

____

(3:25_) 48. How far did your mother go in school?

___(1) No formal education
___(2) A grade school education
___(3) Some high school
___(4) A high school education
___(5) Some college
___(6) Four years of college
___(7) A Master's degree or equivalent
___(8) A Doctor's degree

(3:26_) 49. If your mother went beyond high school, describe briefly the nature of her education, for example: four years college, business college, nursing school, normal school; etc.:

____

____

(3:27_) 50. Most of the time when you were under 21, did your father work for himself or someone else?

___(1) Self
___(2) Someone else
___(3) Partly self, partly someone else (if check 3, explain:)

____

(3:28_) 51. Did anyone work under your father, that is, was he in charge of the work of others?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:29_) 52. (If Yes to question 51) Did anyone work under those people?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:30_) 53. (And once again, if Yes to question 52) Did anyone work under those people?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:31_) 54. Did your father have a boss or supervisor over him at work?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:32_) 55. (If Yes to question 54) Did anyone work over your father's boss?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:33_) 56. (And again, if Yes to question 55) Did anyone work over the boss's boss?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

57. Using the answers to the above questions (50-56) as a guide, now state in detail (1) exactly the kind of work your father did most of the time when you were under 21, and (2) the kind of organization, if any, that he worked for. (For example, distinguish between a sales clerk in a big retail store, a manager of a retail store, and the owner of such a store, and between a very small local business, a large local business, and a store within a chain of retail stores.) Please feel free to elaborate.

(3:34_) (1) Kind of work: ______________________________________

(3:35_) (2) Kind of organization: ______________________________

(In questions 58-62, please be as specific as possible. Use questions 50-56 to guide your thinking as you describe occupations.)

(3:36_) 58. What was your father's father's principal work during his work life?

(3:37_) (1) Kind of work: ______________________________

(2) Kind of organization: ______________________________

(3:38_) 59. What was your mother's father's principal work during his work life?

(3:39_) (1) Kind of work: ______________________________

(2) Kind of organization: ______________________________

(3:40_) 60. How many brothers and sisters do you have? ________________

If you have brothers or sisters, what is (or was) the single major occupation of each? (If in college, say "studying to be ____" and mention (his)(her) general field, if any.)

(1) ____________________ (6) ____________________
(2) ____________________ (7) ____________________
(3) ____________________ (8) ____________________
(4) ____________________ (9) ____________________
(5) ____________________ (10) ____________________

(3:41_) 61. Has your mother worked for any considerable period of time during your lifetime?

___(1)Yes ___(2)No

(3:42_) 62. If Yes to question 61 describe (1) what kind of work she did, and (2) how old you were when she did it.

(1) Kind of work: ______________________________

(2) My age when she did it: ______________________________

(3:43__) 63. If you have any basis at all for estimating it, check the income-group below which best describes your parents' total income for any typical year when you were under 21 (consider all sources - rents, wages, interest, and so on):

___(1) Under $2,000
___(2) $2,000 - $4,000
___(3) $4,000 - $6,000
___(4) $6,000 - $8,000
___(5) $8,000 - $10,000
___(6) $10,000 - $12,000
___(7) $12,000 - $15,000
___(8) $15,000 - $17,000
___(9) $17,500 - $20,000
___(10) $20,000 - $25,000
___(11) $25,000 - $35,000
___(12) $35,000 or over

(3:44__) 64. How sure are you of the accuracy (within one category) of your estimate of your parents' income?

___(1) Absolutely sure
___(2) Quite sure
___(3) Fairly sure
___(4) Not sure at all
___(5) Only guessed

(3:45__) 65. Roughly how much of your parents' income came from wages and salary and how much came from other sources, such as fees, profits, commissions, rents and stocks? (Check one)

___(1) All of my parents' income came from wages and salary
___(2) More than half of my parents' income came from wages and salary
___(3) More than half of my parents' income came from something other than wages and salary - such as profits, fees, commissions, rents, and/or stocks
___(4) All of my parents' income came from something other than wages and salary - such as profits, fees, commissions, rents, and/or stocks

(3:46__) 66. In what country was your father born? ____________________
(3:47__) What was the original nationality of your family on your father's side?
____

(3:48__) 67. In what country was your mother born? ____________________
(3:49__) What was the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?
____

(3:50__) 68. People sometimes talk about the kinds of social classes in American communities. In your opinion, which one of these terms comes closest to describing the class that you now belong to?

___(1) Upper class
___(2) Upper-middle class
___(3) Lower-middle class
___(4) Working class
___(5) Lower class

(3:51__) 69. What about your family when you were under 21 - in your opinion, which term best describes the class that your parents belonged to?

___(1) Upper class
___(2) Upper-middle class
___(3) Lower-middle class
___(4) Working class
___(5) Lower class

(3:52__) 70. What is your religious preference?

___(1) Roman Catholic
___(2) Jewish
___(3) Protestant (denomination): ____________________
___(4) Other (specify) ____________________
___(5) None

(3:53__) 71. How often do you attend religious services?

___(1) Once a week or more
___(2) Twice a month
___(3) Once a month
___(4) A few times a year or less
___(5) Never

(3:54__) 72. Is there anything you would like to add about the kinds of things covered in this questionnaire?

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Book order

PRECEDING PAGE MISSING

TABLE 39

GOALS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (FIRST CHOICE)[a]
BY PROFESSIONALISM

Primary Emphasis	Men			Women		
	Professionalism			Professionalism		
	High (4-10)	Medium (12-14)	Low (16-20)	High (4-10)	Medium (12-14)	Low (16-20)
Subject matter and intellectual training	39%	43%	35%	35%	45%	39%
Life adjustment	54	50	57	53	42	53
Social betterment	7	7	8	12	13	8
Total	100% (133)	100% (135)	100% (71)	100% (108)	100% (71)	100% (25)

[a] Based on responses to Question 18 in questionnaire. See Appendix B.

TABLE 40

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF METROPOLITAN AREA[a]

Class	
Upper middle	13%
Lower middle	27
Upper working	30
Lower working	30
Total	100% (479)

[a] Source: Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 156. This table includes only whites in the metropolitan area.

TABLE 41

COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY SAMPLE AND A NATIONAL SAMPLE OF TEACHERS

	Study Sample		National Sample[a]			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Elementary	Secondary
Median annual salary	$7,000	$7,000	$4,156		$4,156	
Median age	34	39	35	46	45	40
Median number of years teaching experience	7	11	8	15	14	12
Annual turnover rate	5%	20%	16%	18%	17%[b]	17%[b]
	10%					

[a] Source for median annual salary is U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56; Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances," in Biennial Study of Education in the United States, 1955-56 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959). Source for turnover rate is U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Teacher Turnover in the Public Schools, 1957-58," Circular No. 608 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959). All other data are from "The Status of American Public School Teachers," National Education Association Research Bulletin, XXXV (February, 1957).

[b] Among elementary teachers, the turnover rate for men and women is the same -- 17 per cent; among secondary teachers, it is 15 per cent for men and 20 per cent for women.

TABLE 41 (Continued)

	Study Sample		National Sample			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Elementary	Secondary
Training						
No degree	0%	0%	7%	28%	34%	3%
Bachelor's degree	31	55	51	54	53	53
Master's degree	69	45	42	18	13	44
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Type of undergraduate training[c]						
Teacher's college	46%	32%	33%	50%	56%	29%
University	45	53	54	39	34	57
Liberal arts college	9	15	13	11	10	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Social class background[d]						
Middle class	47%	63%	36%	41%	--[f]	--[f]
Working class	45	21	38	25		
Farmers[e]	8	16	26	34		
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		

[c] These data are not strictly comparable. The study sample is classified according to the school from which the teachers received their Bachelor's degrees. The national sample is classified according to the "type of institution . . . [where the teachers took the] larger part . . . of [their] college education."

[d] In the national sample "middle class" includes those teachers whose fathers were professional or semi-professional, managerial or self-employed, and clerical or sales; "working class" includes those teachers whose fathers were skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled. See page 162 for a description of how social class is coded in the study sample.

[e] In the study sample this category includes five men and five women whose fathers' occupations were not ascertained.

[f] Not available by elementary and secondary levels.

TABLE 42

NUMBER OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES BY SCHOOL

School	Number of Teachers Assigned to Grades 7 - 12	Number of Completed Questionnaires	Percentage Completed Questionnaires of Total Assigned to School
A	113	99	88
B	91	87	96
C	77	74	96
D	77	70	91
E	46	43	93
F	42	38	91
G	42	42	100
H	37	36	97
I	26	23	88
J	25	24	96
K	21	19	90
Visiting teachers	12	12	100
Total	609	567[a]	93

[a] Twenty-two of these cases were eliminated from the analysis because of a nonresponse in one or more items of the professionalism index.

TABLE 43

RESPONSES TO ITEMS IN PROFESSIONALISM INDEX, AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND AMOUNT OF TRAINING

	Men	Women
	(340)	(205)
Professionalism index items:		
	P=.60(2-t)	
1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	25[a]	27
	P=.04(2-t)	
2. Doing work my colleagues respect	18	25
	P=.07(2-t)	
3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	41	49
	P=.001(1-t)	
4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	27	39
Q.34. Participation in professional associations:		
None (0)	9%	15%
Low (1)	12	18
Medium (2 - 10)	53	47
High (11 plus)	26	20
Total	100% (309)	100% (171)
Q.38. Amount of training:		
Bachelor's degree	31%	55%
Master's plus up to 15 credits	56	37
Master's plus 16 or more credits	13	8
Total	100% (323)	100% (193)

TABLE 44

PERCENTAGE WHO CHECKED "NECESSARY" TO ITEMS IN PROFESSIONALISM INDEX BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

Professionalism Index Items	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle (48)	Lower Middle (112)	Upper Working (104)	Lower Working (49)	Upper Middle (49)	Lower Middle (80)	Upper Working (33)	Lower Working (11)
1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	29	26	26	20	39	22	36	0
2. Doing work colleagues respect	25	19	17	14	22	34	24	0
3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	50	43	41	35	59	45	61	18
4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	31	27	30	18	57	37	39	27

TABLE 45

PERCENTAGE WHO CHECKED "NECESSARY" TO ITEMS IN PROFESSIONALISM INDEX BY RELIGION AND FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE

Professionalism Index Items	Men				Women			
	Protestant		Catholic		Protestant		Catholic	
	Attend Church Weekly (102)	Attend Church Less Often (131)	Attend Church Weekly (58)	Attend Church Less Often (16)	Attend Church Weekly (71)	Attend Church Less Often (94)	Attend Church Weekly (30)	Attend Church Less Often (1)
1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	31	21	17	19	24	30	27	0
2. Doing work colleagues respect	24	16	10	12	20	32	20	0
3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	36	43	40	38	49	55	33	0
4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	34	27	16	12	41	33	20	0

TABLE 46

INTEGRATION SETTING BY RELIGION

Setting	Men		Women	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
Entrepreneurial	47%	67%	58%	74%
Bureaucratic	53	33	42	26
Total	100% (204)	100% (70)	100% (133)	100% (27)

TABLE 47

PERCENTAGE WHO CHECKED "NECESSARY" TO ITEMS IN PROFESSIONALISM INDEX BY INTEGRATION SETTING

Professionalism Index Items	Men		Women	
	Entrepreneurial (185)	Bureaucratic (147)	Entrepreneurial (132)	Bureaucratic (64)
1. Chance to work with a teaching staff that is highly competent	P=.15(1-t) 27	22	P=.02(2-t) 20	36
2. Doing work my colleagues respect	P=.24(1-t) 19	16	P=.65(2-t) 23	26
3. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	P=.36(1-t) 42	40	P=.19(2-t) 45	55
4. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	P=.27(1-t) 26	29	P=.11(1-t) 36	45

TABLE 48

AMOUNT OF TRAINING, TYPE OF UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING, ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, AND AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Q. 38. Amount of training:								
Bachelor's degree	29%	29%	29%	43%	58%	58%	52%	36%
Master's plus up to 15 credits	55	58	55	51	36	31	45	55
Master's plus 16 or more credits	16	13	16	6	6	11	3	9
Total	100% (45)	100% (106)	100% (99)	100% (47)	100% (47)	100% (73)	100% (31)	100% (11)
Q. 38. Type of school where respondent received Bachelor's degree:								
Teacher's college	49%	44%	48%	36%	8%	33%	41%	36%
University	42	38	49	60	70	55	41	55
Liberal arts college	9	18	3	4	22	12	18	9
Total	100% (45)	100% (108)	100% (98)	100% (47)	100% (47)	100% (76)	100% (32)	100% (11)

TABLE 48 (Continued)

	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Q. 34. Professional association of which teacher is a member:								
American Federation of Teachers	73%	73%	89%	87%	68%	59%	85%	67%
National Education Association	27	27	11	13	32	41	15	33
Total	100% (45)	100% (102)	100% (92)	100% (47)	100% (41)	100% (71)	100% (33)	100% (9)
Q. 34. Participation in professional associations:								
None (0)	7%	10%	12%	6%	17%	11%	12%	11%
Low (1)	11	9	12	23	15	25	9	11
Medium (2 - 10)	51	55	51	45	51	43	58	78
High (11 plus)	31	26	25	26	17	21	21	0
Total	100% (45)	100% (102)	100% (92)	100% (47)	100% (41)	100% (71)	100% (33)	100% (9)

TABLE 49

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL BY AMOUNT OF TRAINING, TYPE OF UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING, AND AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Q. 35. Amount of training:								
Bachelor's degree	23 (13)	32 (31)	41 (29)	50 (20)	63 (27)	47 (42)	56 (16)	0 (4)
Master's plus up to 15 credits	60 (25)	43 (61)	31 (54)	29 (24)	82 (17)	61 (23)	57 (14)	0 (6)
Master's plus 16 or more credits	43 (7)	43 (14)	50 (16)	33 (3)	67 (3)	75 (8)	100 (1)	0 (1)
Q. 38. Type of school where respondent received Bachelor's degree:								
Teacher's college	27 (22)	40 (47)	30 (47)	47 (17)	50 (4)	56 (25)	69 (13)	0 (4)
University	58 (19)	38 (42)	48 (48)	29 (28)	75 (33)	55 (42)	46 (13)	0 (6)
Liberal arts college	75 (4)	47 (19)	33 (3)	50 (2)	60 (10)	56 (9)	67 (6)	0 (1)

TABLE 49 (Continued)

	Men				Women			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Q. 34. Participation in professional associations								
None (0)	100 (3)	40 (10)	18 (11)	0 (3)	86 (7)	12 (8)	75 (4)	0 (1)
AFT members								
Low (1)	25 (4)	14 (7)	43 (7)	38 (8)	100 (4)	62 (8)	67 (3)	. . . (0)
Medium (2 - 10)	50 (14)	33 (36)	31 (42)	28 (18)	58 (12)	61 (13)	62 (16)	0 (5)
High (11 plus)	58 (12)	50 (22)	36 (22)	50 (12)	80 (5)	77 (13)	40 (5)	. . . (0)
NEA members								
Low (1)	0 (1)	50 (2)	50 (4)	67 (3)	50 (2)	50 (10)	. . . (0)	0 (1)
Medium and High (2 plus)[a]	36 (11)	44 (25)	50 (6)	33 (3)	55 (11)	47 (19)	60 (5)	0 (2)

[a] Contains 8 men and 9 women who had participation scores of 11, or higher.

TABLE 50

HIP BY AMOUNT OF TRAINING AND AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

		Men				Women			
		Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
Q. 38. Amount of training:									
Bachelor's degree		+31 (13)	+10 (31)	0 (29)	-20 (20)	+18 (27)	+24 (42)	+6 (16)	+50 (4)
Master's plus up to 15 credits		+20 (25)	+23 (61)	+24 (54)	+25 (24)	0 (17)	+52 (23)	+7 (14)	+50 (6)
Master's plus 16 or more credits		+29 (7)	+38 (14)	+12 (16)	0 (3)	+67 (3)	+75 (8)	+100 (1)	0 (1)
Q. 34. Participation in professional associations:									
None	(0)	-33 (3)	+10 (10)	-9 (11)	0 (3)	-29 (7)	+62 (8)	0 (4)	0 (1)
AFT members Low	(1)	0 (4)	-14 (7)	+43 (7)	-25 (8)	+25 (4)	+75 (8)	-33 (3)	. . . (0)
Medium	(2 - 10)	+36 (14)	+28 (36)	+21 (42)	-22 (18)	+8 (12)	+23 (13)	+25 (16)	+20 (5)
High	(11 plus)	+58 (12)	+23 (22)	+18 (22)	+58 (12)	-20 (5)	+69 (13)	0 (5)	. . . (0)
NEA members Low	(1)	0 (1)	-100 (2)	+25 (4)	-33 (3)	0 (2)	0 (10)	. . . (0)	0 (1)
Medium and High (2 plus)[a]		+9 (11)	+20 (25)	+50 (6)	+67 (3)	+55 (11)	+5 (19)	-20 (5)	0 (2)

[a] Contains 8 men and 9 women who had participation scores of 11, or higher.

TABLE 51

PERCENTAGE HIGH PROFESSIONAL, PRESENT, AND NIP BY AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR MARITAL STATUS

Amount of Participation		Men		Women	
		Single	Married	Single	Married
None	(0)	50 (4)	32 (25)	40 (10)	46 (13)
Low	(1)	25 (4)	37 (32)	75 (12)	55 (18)
Medium	(2 - 10)	31 (26)	37 (147)	49 (47)	49 (43)
High	(11 plus)	30 (10)	48 (73)	63 (19)	50 (12)

NIP BY AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Amount of Participation		Men Single	Men Married	Women Single	Women Married
None	(0)	-25 (4)	0 (25)	+10 (10)	+46 (13)
Low	(1)	+25 (4)	-9 (32)	+33 (12)	+6 (18)
Medium	(2 - 10)	-23 (26)	+24 (147)	+28 (47)	+28 (43)
High	(11 plus)	0 (10)	+41 (73)	+21 (19)	+17 (12)

APPENDIX D

COMPARISONS BETWEEN BUSINESS EMPLOYEES AND TEACHERS

Comparisons between Staff Specialists in an Industrial Organization and a Subsample of Teachers

The tables in this appendix compare a subsample of teachers with staff specialists in a large industrial organization on social origins, colleague relations, and job values. The general question underlying these comparisons is: do different types of organizations and occupational roles attract and shape persons with different social backgrounds and job orientations?[1] The comments accompanying the tables are descriptive statements. Few explanations are offered.

The Samples. The staff experts data are based on responses to a modified version of the questionnaire administered to teachers. A copy of the covering letter and questionnaire appear below. Questionnaires were mailed to a sample of 254 staff experts employed in "nontechnical" units in a central administration office of a large industrial organization located in the same community as the school system studied. The organizational units sampled included the industrial relations, public relations, advertising, purchasing, general counsel, and finance staffs. Individuals in these units having all of the following characteristics were further sampled: male, between 25 and 40 years of age; college education (actually, half of the sample from whom I received completed questionnaires had advanced degrees); at least three years' experience in industry, and with a status no higher than section manager. A random sample was drawn by selecting every nth name listed. Completed questionnaires were returned by 164 of the 254 experts sampled, a 65 percent return.

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[1] The following studies compare the job values--but not the social origins--of two or more occupational groups: Raymond W. Mack, "Occupational Ideology and the Determinate Role," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October, 1957) 37-44; Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," *American Sociological Review*, XX (April, 1955) 191-198; Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Executives and Supervisors: Contrasting Definitions of Career Success," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (March, 1957) 506-517. A study by Morris Rosenberg (*Occupations and Values* [Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957]) compares the value systems of college students who have *chosen*, but not yet entered, various occupations. For a general conceptual framework that predicts from the structural characteristics of organizations and occupational roles to job values, see Harold L. Wilensky, "Role Orientation and Social Structure: The 'Fit' of Man and Job," University of Michigan, 1959 (mimeographed).

The teacher subsample in the tables consists of the 233 men teachers in the original teacher sample between 25 and 39 years of age.

TABLE 52

SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Upper middle	15%	24%
Lower middle	35	35
Upper working	30	26
Lower working	14	8
Not ascertained[a]	6	7
Total	100% (233)	100% (164)

[a] The majority of these cases comes from farm families.

Comment: Staff experts are more likely to come from upper middle class backgrounds than are teachers; the latter are more likely to come from working class backgrounds. But the differences are not large.

TABLE 53

SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS MEMBERSHIP[a]

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Upper	0%	1%
Upper middle	35	54
Lower middle	61	44
Working	4	1
Lower	0	0
Total	100% (230)	100% (162)

[a] Questions 68, 25 are the item numbers in teacher and staff experts questionnaires, respectively.

Comment: The majority of staff experts identify themselves with the upper middle class, whereas the majority of teachers identify themselves with the lower middle class.

TABLE 54

PARENTS' INCOME (QUESTIONS 63, 20)

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Under $2,000	3%	6%
$2,000 to $4,000	27	20
$4,000 to $6,000	32	33
$6,000 to $8,000	19	21
$8,000 to $10,000	5	8
$10,000 and over	14	12
Total	100% (217)	100% (163)

Comment: There is little difference between the income levels of parents of teachers and of staff experts.

TABLE 55

EDUCATION OF FATHER (QUESTIONS 43E, 13)

	Teachers	Staff Experts
No more than a grade school education	38%	35%
Some high school	24	12
Completed high school	16	16
Some college	11	15
Four years college or more	11	22
Total	100% (232)	100% (164)

Comment: Fathers of staff experts are better educated than fathers of teachers.

TABLE 56

INTEGRATION SETTING IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE REARED

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Entrepreneurial	52%	53%
Bureaucratic	48	47
Total	100% (227)	100% (164)

Comment: There is no difference between the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic composition of staff experts and teachers.

TABLE 57

RELIGION (QUESTIONS 70, 27)

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Protestant	64%	58%
Catholic	24	32
Jewish	..[a]	2
Other	2	4
None	10	4
Total	100% (232)	100% (164)

[a] Less than .5%

Comment: Despite staff experts' higher social class origins, a higher proportion are Catholic than among the teachers. There is also a slightly higher proportion of teachers who express "no religious preference."

TABLE 58

PRESENT ANNUAL SALARY (QUESTIONS 44, 11)

	Teachers	Staff Experts
Up to $6,000	28%	1%
$6,000 to $7,000	36	21
$7,000 to $8,000	29	
$8,000 to $9,000	7	39
$9,000 to $10,000	0	
$10,000 and over	0	39
Total	100% (233)	100% (263)

Comment: None of the teachers earns over $9,000, whereas 78 percent of the staff experts earn over $9,000.

TABLE 59

INFORMAL COLLEAGUE RELATIONS (QUESTIONS 37B, 7)

	Teachers	Staff Experts
With teachers (people in your field)	36%	12%
Half and half	31	38
With people in other occupations	33	50
Total	100% (232)	100% (164)

__Comment__: Staff experts have less informal contact with people in their fields than teachers have with other teachers.

TABLE 60

FEELING THAT WORK INTERFERES WITH OUTSIDE INTERESTS (QUESTIONS 27, 5)

Work interferes:	Teachers	Staff Experts
Very much with outside interests	16%	8%
Somewhat with outside interests	48	31
Very little with outside interests	36	61
Total	100% (231)	100% (164)

__Comment__: Teachers, more than staff experts, feel that their job interferes with their outside interests. This can be explained by the emphasis on the teachers' community and citizen roles, which blurs the boundaries between their occupational and nonoccupational activities.

TABLE 61

MOST IMPORTANT LIFE ACTIVITY BY MARITAL STATUS (QUESTIONS 15, 4)

	Teachers		Staff Experts	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
Family life	10%	91%	10%	85%
Work	63	9	90	15
National betterment	7	0	0	0
Leisure	20	...	0	0
	100% (31)	100% (196)	100% (10)	100% (150)

Comment: Teachers are less involved in their work as a central life activity than are staff experts.

TABLE 62

COMPARATIVE EMPHASIS ON JOB VALUES

Question 9B	 3B		Teachers (233)	Staff Experts (164)	Difference between Teachers and Staff Experts
b	a	Chance to rise to a high position in the system (organisation) I work in	29[a]	75	-46
c	b	Chance to work with a teaching staff (people) that is highly competent	80	81	- 1
d	c	Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	78	25	+53
e	d	Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	41	47	- 6
f	e	Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	72	44	+28
g	f	Having a job that has prestige in the teaching profession (in my field)	44	59	-15
i	g	Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me--my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	77	52	+25

[a] Percentage who checked each item as "necessary" or "very important".

TABLE 62 (Continued)

Question 98	Question 39		Teachers (235)	Staff Experts (164)	Difference between Teachers and Staff Experts
j	h	Having the support and recognition of my superiors	76	90	-14
k	i	Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	89	93	- 4
l	j	Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	94	83	+11
m	k	Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	45	15	+30
n	l	Doing work my colleagues respect	57	71	-14
o	m	Chance to work with new ideas in my subject matter field (field)	78	63	+15

Comment: Teachers emphasize service, job security, and free time more than do staff experts. Staff experts emphasize chance for promotion more than do teachers. Importance assigned to prestige in the community and to income by teachers and by staff experts is roughly the same in each case.

TABLE 63

COMPARATIVE SATISFACTION WITH JOB VALUES IN PRESENT JOB

Question			Teachers (233)	Staff Experts (164)	Difference between Teachers and Staff Experts
9C	3C				
b	a	Chance to rise to a high position in the system (organization) I work in	24[a]	16	+ 8
c	b	Chance to work with a teaching staff (people) that is highly competent	54	41	+13
d	c	Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	39	14	+25
e	d	Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	23	35	-12
f	e	Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	78	43	+35
g	f	Having a job that has prestige in the teaching profession (in my field)	31	30	+ 1
i	g	Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me--my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	48	53	- 5

[a] Percentage who checked each item "very satisfied".

TABLE 63 (Continued)

Question 9C	 3C		Teachers (233)	Staff Experts (164)	Difference between Teachers and Staff Experts
j	h	Having the support and recognition of my superiors	43	36	+ 7
k	i	Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	23	20	+ 3
l	j	Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	59	26	+33
m	k	Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	22	15	+ 7
n	l	Doing work my colleagues respect	34	32	+ 2
o	m	Chance to work with new ideas in my subject matter field (field)	47	24	+23

Comment: Teachers are considerably more satisfied than are staff experts with job security, with job autonomy, with opportunity to help people, and with opportunity to work with new ideas. Teachers are less satisfied than are staff experts with the amount of prestige they have in the community and with the amount of free time. Despite large objective differences in chances for promotion and in income level, teachers and staff experts are about equally satisfied with these values in their present jobs.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

5601 HAVEN HALL

June 12, 1959

Dear Sir:

The University of Michigan is doing a research study for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This study is addressed to an important problem facing communities throughout the nation — the recruitment and retention of qualified school teachers.

The specific purpose of the study is to compare the aspirations, career patterns and backgrounds of teachers in a public school system with the aspirations, career patterns and backgrounds of persons in a business organization. It will thus begin to answer the question: Do teachers differ in any way from people in other occupations with regard to their aspirations, career patterns and backgrounds?

We have already collected questionnaires from a large sample of teachers. The enclosed questionnaire is for management personnel — and this is where you come in.

You have been selected at random by scientific sampling methods. It is, therefore, very important, as you can see, that we receive questionnaires from everyone selected in order to make our results representative.

Your individual replies will be held completely confidential. The results will be reported in summary form only; no individuals will be identified. We would very much appreciate it if you could find time within the next few days to fill in and return the questionnaire. It will probably take about twenty minutes.

Your individual cooperation is, of course, voluntary. Please keep in mind, however, that the final value of this important study depends on the frankness and care with which you answer the questions.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Angell
Robert C. Angell
Professor of Sociology

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

RESEARCH STUDY

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

2. Please answer all questions -- and in order. Do not skip around.

3. Many of the questions can be answered with one or more check marks. If you want to add an explanation or comment, please feel free to do so; use the margin or the back of the questionnaire.

4. Answer frankly according to your own opinions. Please do not consult with other people.

5. After you have filled in the questionnaire, please mail it promptly in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided.

(NOTE: Please disregard the numbers in parentheses in the left-hand margin. They are code numbers which are used to punch the answers on IBM cards.)

* * * * * * * * *

(1:7_) (1:8_) 1. First, what is your present job? Please describe your job -- your main duties and responsibilities:

____

____

____

(1:9_) (1:10_) (1:11_) 2. Thinking back to the time when you took your first job after college, what things or activities in your life were most important to you then?

(Place a "1" next to the most important activity, a "2" next to the second most important activity, and a "3" next to the third most important activity.)

___(1) My marriage and my family life
___(2) My work
___(3) Participating in activities directed toward national betterment
___(4) My leisure time activities and hobbies

3. A. People have different ideas about what is important in a job. Again, thinking back to the time when you took your first job after college, please check off in the table below each of the items according to how important it was to you in a job then.

	How important was this to you in a job then?				
	Nec-essary (1)	Very impor-tant (3)	Fairly impor-tant (5)	Not too impor-tant (7)	
a. Chance to rise to a high position in the organization I work in	☐	☐	☐	☐	(1:12__)
b. Chance to work with people who are highly competent	☐	☐	☐	☐	
c. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐	☐	
d. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐	☐	
e. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐	☐	
f. Having a job that has prestige in my field .	☐	☐	☐	☐	
g. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me -- my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	
h. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐	☐	
i. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐	☐	
j. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐	☐	
k. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐	☐	
l. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐	☐	
m. Chance to work with new ideas in my field . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	

PLEASE GO BACK TO THOSE ITEMS THAT YOU HAVE CHECKED "NECESSARY" OR "VERY IMPORTANT" AND CIRCLE THAT ITEM THAT WAS THE MOST NECESSARY OR IMPORTANT TO YOU IN A JOB THEN.

3. B. Thinking about the present, please check off each of the same items according to how important it is to you in a job now.

	How important is this to you in a job now?			
	Necessary (1)	Very important (3)	Fairly important (5)	Not too important (7)
a. Chance to rise to a high position in the organization I work in	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Chance to work with people who are highly competent	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. Having a job that has prestige in my field .	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me -- my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐	☐
j. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐	☐
k. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐	☐
l. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐	☐
m. Chance to work with new ideas in my field . .	☐	☐	☐	☐

PLEASE GO BACK TO THOSE ITEMS THAT YOU HAVE CHECKED "NECESSARY" OR "VERY IMPORTANT" AND CIRCLE THAT ITEM THAT IS THE MOST NECESSARY OR IMPORTANT TO YOU IN A JOB NOW.

3. C. Finally, how satisfied are you with these things? Please check off each of the same items according to how satisfied you are with these things in your present job.

	How satisfied are you with this in your present job?		
	Very satis-fied (1)	Fairly satis-fied (3)	Not too satis-fied (5)
a. Chance to rise to a high position in the organization I work in	☐	☐	☐
b. Chance to work with people who are highly competent	☐	☐	☐
c. Chance to help people; to do something worthwhile for society	☐	☐	☐
d. Prestige in the community; having a job that people look up to	☐	☐	☐
e. Job security; being able to keep my job as long as I want it	☐	☐	☐
f. Having a job that has prestige in my field .	☐	☐	☐
g. Adequate free time; having time off for other things that interest me -- my family, friends, hobbies, etc.	☐	☐	☐
h. Having the support and recognition of my superiors	☐	☐	☐
i. Good income; earning enough money to make a good living	☐	☐	☐
j. Autonomy in my work; having enough freedom and responsibility to do my job the way it should be done	☐	☐	☐
k. Chance to study social problems and how to bring about a better society	☐	☐	☐
l. Doing work my colleagues respect	☐	☐	☐
m. Chance to work with new ideas in my field . .	☐	☐	☐

4. Thinking about the present, what things or activities in your life are most important to you?

(Place a "1" next to the most important activity, a "2" next to the second most important activity, and a "3" next to the third most important activity.)

___(1) My marriage and my family life
___(2) My work
___(3) Participating in activities directed toward national betterment
___(4) My leisure time activities and hobbies

5. Do you think that your job interferes much with your outside life -- such as spending time with your family, hobbies, and doing other things that you enjoy doing? (Check one)

___(1) Yes, my job interferes very much with my outside life
___(2) Yes, my job interferes somewhat with my outside life
___(3) No, my job interferes very little with my outside life

6. About how much do you actually expect to be earning 10 or 15 years from now?

___(1) $6,000 to $8,000
___(2) $8,000 to $10,000
___(3) $10,000 to $15,000
___(4) $15,000 to $20,000
___(5) $20,000 to $25,000
___(6) $25,000 to $30,000
___(7) $30,000 or more

7. In general, with whom do you spend more of your free time -- with people in your field or with people in other occupations?

___(1) With people in my field
___(2) With people in other occupations
___(3) About evenly divided between people in my field and people in other occupations

AND, FINALLY, SOME INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND:

8. How old are you? (Check one)

___(1) Under 25 years old
___(2) Between 25 and 29
___(3) Between 30 and 34
___(4) Between 35 and 39
___(5) Between 40 and 44

___(6) Between 45 and 49
___(7) Between 50 and 54
___(8) Between 55 and 59
___(9) 60 or over

(2:8_) 9. Are you:

___(1) Single
___(2) Married
___(3) Divorced or separated
___(4) Widowed

If married:

(2:9_) 10. A. How many years have you been married? ____________________

(2:10_) B. Do you have any children?

___(1) YES ___(2) NO

IF YES: C. How many children do you have at home? What are their ages? ____________________

____

____

(2:11_) 11. What is your present salary?

___(1) Up to $6,000
___(2) $6,000 to $8,000
___(3) $8,000 to $10,000
___(4) $10,000 to $12,500
___(5) $12,500 to $15,000
___(6) $15,000 or more

(2:12_) What was your total annual income in 1958 -- including your salary, your wife's salary, income received from dividends, rents, interest, etc.?

___(1) Up to $6,000
___(2) $6,000 to $8,000
___(3) $8,000 to $10,000
___(4) $10,000 to $12,500
___(5) $12,500 to $15,000
___(6) $15,000 to $20,000
___(7) $20,000 to $25,000
___(8) $25,000 or more

(2:13_) 12. Do you rent your home or do you own it?

___(1) Rent
___(2) Own

(2:14__) 13. How far did your father go in school?

___(1) No formal education
___(2) A grade school education
___(3) Some high school
___(4) A high school education
___(5) Some college
___(6) Four years of college
___(7) A Master's degree or equivalent
___(8) A Doctor's degree

(2:15__) 14. Most of the time when you were in your teens, did your father work for himself or someone else?

___(1) Self
___(2) Someone else
___(3) Partly self, partly someone else (If check 3, explain):

____

15. A. During this time, did anyone work under your father, that is, was he in charge of the work of others?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(If Yes to question 15-A) B. Did anyone work under those people?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(And once again, if Yes to question 15-B) C. Did anyone work under those people?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

16. A. Did your father have a boss or supervisor over him at work?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(If Yes to question 16-A) B. Did anyone work over your father's boss?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(2:16__)
(2:17__)
(2:18__)

(And once again, if Yes to question 16-B) C. Did anyone work over the boss's boss?

___(1) Yes ___(2) No

(2:19__)
(2:20__)
(2:21__)
(2:22__)

17. Using the answers to the preceding questions (14 - 16) as a guide, now state in detail (1) exactly the kind of work your father did most of the time when you were in your teens, and (2) the kind of organization, if any, that he worked for. (For example, distinguish between a sales clerk in a big retail store, a manager of a retail store, and the owner of such a store, and between a very small local business, a large local business, and a store within a chain of retail stores.) Please feel free to elaborate.

(1) Kind of work: ____________________

(2) Kind of organization: ____________________

(In questions 18 and 19 please be as specific as possible. Use questions 14 to 16 to guide your thinking as you describe occupations.)

(2:23__)
(2:24__)

18. What was your father's father's principal work during his work life?

(1) Kind of work: ____________________

(2) Kind of organization: ____________________

(2:25__)
(2:26__)

19. What was your mother's father's principal work during his work life?

(1) Kind of work: ____________________

(2) Kind of organization: ____________________

(2:27__)

20. If you have any basis at all for estimating it, check the income group below which best describes your parents' total income for any typical year when you were in your teens. (Consider all sources -- rents, wages, interest, and so on)

___(1) Under $2,000
___(2) $2,000 to $4,000
___(3) $4,000 to $6,000
___(4) $6,000 to $8,000
___(5) $8,000 to $10,000
___(6) $10,000 to $15,000
___(7) $15,000 to $20,000
___(8) $20,000 to $25,000
___(9) $25,000 or more

(2:28_) 21. How sure are you of the accuracy (within one category) of your estimate of your parents' income?

___(1) Absolutely sure
___(2) Quite sure
___(3) Fairly sure
___(4) Not sure at all
___(5) Only guessed

(2:29_) 22. Roughly how much of your parents' income came from wages and salary and how much came from other sources, such as fees, profits, commissions, rents, and stocks? (Check one)

___(1) All of my parents' income came from wages and salary
___(2) More than half of my parents' income came from wages and salary
___(3) More than half of my parents' income came from something other than wages and salary -- such as profits, fees, commissions, rents, and/or stocks
___(4) All of my parents' income came from something other than wages and salary -- such as profits, fees, commissions, rents, and/or stocks

(2:30_) (2:31_) (2:32_) (2:33_) 23. In what country was your father born? ______________________

What was the original nationality of your family on your father's side?

____

(2:34_) (2:35_) (2:36_) (2:37_) 24. In what country was your mother born? ______________________

What was the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?

____

(2:38_) 25. People sometimes talk about the kinds of social classes in American communities. In your opinion, which one of these terms comes closest to describing the class that you now belong to?

___(1) Upper class
___(2) Upper middle class
___(3) Lower middle class
___(4) Working class
___(5) Lower class

(2:39__) 26. What about your family when you were in your teens -- in your opinion, which term best describes the class that your parents belonged to?

___(1) Upper class
___(2) Upper middle class
___(3) Lower middle class
___(4) Working class
___(5) Lower class

(2:40__) 27. What is your religious preference?

___(1) Roman Catholic
___(2) Jewish
___(3) Protestant (denomination): ____________________
___(4) Other (specify): ____________________
___(5) None

(2:41__) 28. How often do you attend religious services?

___(1) Once a week or more
___(2) Twice a month
___(3) Once a month
___(4) A few times a year or less
___(5) Never

29. In the table below please record your educational training beyond high school.

Inclusive Dates	Degree Earned or Expected (e.g., B.S., M. S.)	Major Field

(2:42__)
(2:43__)

30. What jobs have you held? In the table below record your full-time jobs, starting with your first job since you were 18, up to, but not including your present job. Do not include summer jobs. Please record all of the information asked about each listing. Also, account for time in the armed forces, etc.

Inclusive Dates	Position and Description of Work	Name of Firm	Approximate Annual Salary a. Entering b. Final
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.
			a. b.

(2:44)
(2:45)
(2:46)
(2:47)
(2:48)
(2:49)

Any additional comments or explanations? ____________________

____

____

(2:50__) 31. **Is there anything you would like to add about the kinds of things covered in this questionnaire?**

* - * * - * * - * * - * * - * * -

- THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT -

* - * * - * * - * * - * * - * * -

Book order

PRECEDING PAGE MISSING

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